11-1-1970

A Study Of Early Buddhist Institute Of Nuns (Bhikkhunīs) Based On The Pātimokkha

Chatsumarn Shatsena

EARLY BUDDHIST NUNS

Y. H. J.

A STUDY OF EARLY BUDDHIST INSTITUTE OF NUNS (BHIKKHUNIS) BASED ON THE PATIMOKKHA

by

CHATSUMARN SHATSENA B.A. (Hons)

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

November, 1970

MASTER OF ARTS (1970) McMASTER UNIVERSITY

(Religion) Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE : A Study Of Early Buddhist Institute Of Nuns (Bhikkhunīs) Based On The Pātimokkha

AUTHOR : Chatsumarn Shatsena, B.A. (Visva Bharati University)

SUPERVISOR : Professor Jan Yun-hua

NUMBER OF PAGES : vi,146

SCOPE AND CONTENTS :

This dissertation presents the analytical discussion on the formation of the early Buddhist institute of nuns (Bhikkhunī Sangha) and various arguments arising therefrom, including the examination on the accusation against Ananda in the First Council. The main inquiry, however lies in the comparative study of the monastic rules of the nuns (Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha). The materials are from various available sources which enable one to proceed more fruitfully in obtaining new information and findings. The monastic rules for Buddhist nuns of different schools are substantially the same, reaffirming the belief that different Buddhistic schools are in unity, the differences lie mainly in philosophical and metaphysical expositions. The study on the internal aspects of the early Buddhist institute of nuns shows the importance of the co-existence of the doctrine and the monastic rules. One who aims at the spiritual attainment must keep in mind the balance of these two principles, i.e., wisdom and practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express deep appreciation to Dr.Jan Yun-hua, my supervisor, under whose guidance this work is made available. Dr.Jan has kindly read the manuscript thoroughly and offered many valuable criticisms and suggestions; some of the latter have found their way into this work. The Chinese translation is made available mainly through his help.

I also wish to thank Dr.J.G.Arapura and Mr.L.I. Greenspan who have kindly read the manuscript and made few suggestions. I am grateful to my colleagues; Simone Landrien for making available certain references from French and Dr. K.N.Tiwari for his valuable discussions and enccuragement. I particularly appreciate Dr.James Bacon of Chemistry Department, who has been most patient and earnest in going through the manuscript and in answering my queries on English usage.

I am thankful to Bhikkhu Yen-kiat for his translation on <u>Dharmagupta Bhikkhunī Vinaya</u>. Above all I am indebted to my mother, Ven.Voramai Kabilsingh, who has supplied various articles and translations. Her advice and constant encouragement has helped to make this work possible.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ang.	Anguttara Nikāya
Cv.	Cullavagga
Dial.	Dialogues of the Buddha
Dig.	Digha Nikāya
Dh.	Dharmagupta
Dhp.	Dhammapāda
Jat.	Jātaka
Majjh.	Majjhima Nikāya
Mhp.	Mahāparinibbāna Sutta
Mhs.	Mahisāsaka
M.Sar.	Mula-Sārvastivāda
Msg.	Mahāsanghika
Mv.	Mahāvagga
Niss.P.	Nissaggiya Pācittiya
P.	Pāli
Pac.	Pācittiya
Par.	Parājika
Samy.	Samyutta Nikāya
Sar.	Sarvastivāda
Sgd.	Sanghadisesa

Skt.	Sanskrit
Th.	Theravāda
Thig.	Therīgāthā
Thag.	Theragāthā
V.	Vibhanga
Vin.	Vinaya
ERE	Hastings'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
PTS	Pali Text Society
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, 50 Volumes, ed.M.Muller (rep.,India,1965)
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists, ed.I.B.Horner (London, 1947-63)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The main concern of this dissertation is an inquiry into the early Buddhist institute of nuns (Bhikkhunī Sangha) with reference to the monastic rules for nuns (Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha). This set of monastic rules is a part of the oldest Buddhist text, namely Vinaya Pitaka (the monastic disciplines). It is the basic element which holds the monastic Order together.

It is well known that in early period of Buddhism, the Buddha accepted four types of followers, namely laymen (upāsakas), laywomen (upāsikās), monks (bhikkhus) and nuns (bhikkhunis). At present the institute of nuns does not exist in any Theravadin country. This fact may be important for the study of the development of Buddhism. In this context, the study of the monastic rules for nuns (Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha) becomes important and significant as it helps to determine the authenticity of the historical establishment and development of the Sangha (community of monks,nuns).

The total acceptance of the Pali sources as authentic is however, still questionable. It has been recorded that the Buddha spoke Ardhamagadhi,[1] but it has been shown that none of his saying is preserved in its original form. The materials handed down to us are translations of what may have been the early canon into other Indian languages,

chiefly Pali. Buddhism had divided into various schools, most of which have their own text but nearly all of these are lost to us.[2] There is no definite proof that Pali is the only original and the oldest source. Keeping this fact in mind, a thorough study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha should take materials from other available sources into account.

The major attempt of this dissertation is therefore an inquiry into the Bhikkhunī institution through the comparative study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha of various Buddhistic schools. The materials used are from different sources mainly Chinese, some of which have never been fully utilized in the written western languages. Taking into account the materials of other schools enables us to make the study more objectively and efficiently. Through this method we can expect some new information and findings.

A great deal of knowledge about the organization and administration of the Buddhist Sangha can be obtained from Vinaya Pitaka. As this study concerns primarily the Bhikkhunī Sangha, most of the original materials used are drawn from Vinaya Pitaka, which has been translated into English by Oldenburg and T.W.Rhys Davids[3] and brought to completion by Horner.[4] But the Vinaya Pitaka of many other Buddhistic schools are still preserved at large in Chinese, Tibetan and partially in Sanskrit fragments.

There are a few works which help to further our

study in this field. Mrs.Rhys Davids has brought out a translation of Therīgāthā, known in English as the Psalms of the Sisters,[5] which throws some light on the abilities and position of the bhikkhunīs in the early period, though the authenticity of the work is not fully recognized. A monumental work on the institution of the bhikkhunīs and its formation has been written by Miss I.B.Horner in Women Under Primitive Buddhism.[6] Her work covers a wide scope in in regard to the position of women before and during the Buddha's time, and many important points have been discussed. Her study was thorough and analytical within the limit of Pali sources.

The Buddhistic technical terms are usually given in Pali, the spellings are the same as those used by Horner. They appear to be more readable and less confusing than those given by Oldenburg and T.W.Rhys Davids in Vinaya Texts,[7] especially when used in type-written form. For example, Rhys Davids writes Likkhavi; kk are in italic, whereas Horner writes Licchavi, which is closer to the actual pronunciation. For type-written work such as this dissertation, it becomes difficult to maintain the italic distinction, which might cause confusion.

In this dissertation the term bhikkhu is rendered as "monk", as in Horner's work.[8] But the term bhikkhunī is not rendered as "nun",[9] mainly because of the difference

between the bhikkhunī in early Buddhism and the nun in Theravāda countries in modern times. There are no bhikkhunis in Theravāda countries, but there are devoted laywomen who leave the household and reside in the monastery compound. The term "nun" is reserved for this group of women, who are called "chī" in Thai; the meaning and the root of which is still obscure. They observe the "Ten precepts" like the novice (sāmanēra), but wear a white robe with shaven heads. They are also different from devoted laywomen who are usually called upasikas in Pali. Thus any reference to nun in early Buddhism should strictly use the original term bhikkhunī which no English term can really replace.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, a brief discussion is provided on the position of women in general before the rise of Buddhism. This study is introduced as it might enable us to contrast the position of women in the Buddhistic period with that in the previous period. Women in the Buddhistic period enjoyed more freedom and privilege comparatively to any other time, both socially and spiritually. Spiritual achievement for women in Buddhism is a landmark of salvation that no any other religious system of that time was ready to recognize.

The second chapter is an attempt to point out certain psychological attitudes the Buddha might have had towards women as a result of his own experience. The ideas

that the Buddha had about women were probably formed from the traditional beliefs prevalent in his time. His personal experience with women helped to affirm or deny what had been believed and practiced.His judgement was dominated by this background knowledge and guided by his wisdom. This study is necessary, as it enables one to make a proper and critical study of the problems involving the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha.

Third chapter deals with the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha. Certain remarks made by the Buddha have been interpreted in various different ways; pointing out that better understanding of the problems is needed. The distinction should be maintained between the two kinds of utterance of the Buddha (Buddhavacana), namely words which need further explanation (nayattha) and words which do not need further explanation (nitattha).[10] The former type needs further explanation in order that one will understand the meaning of the words clearly and correctly take into consideration the context in which the utterance was made.

Discussion is also made on the justification of the acceptance of the Bhikkhunī Sangha. This includes the responsibility of Ānanda for the formation of the Bhikkhunī Sangha, and the accusations against him at the first Council. Certain considerations,e.g. and personal disagreement which Mahā Kassapa might hold against Ānanda, should

be taken into account for a proper discussion of the accusations.

The fourth chapter is the main study of the present dissertation. It is an attempt to find new trends of development of the Sangha through the comparative study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha of various schools whose Vinaya are still available. Though the study is not complete, as the minor rules have been excluded mainly due to the lack of space and time, the major rules have given sufficient answers to the inquiry at the present stage. The study shows that the monastic rules of various schools are substantially the same, implying that sectarian Buddhism came into existence after the establishment of Pātimokkha. It further points out that the diferences maintained between different schools of Buddhism mainly exist in the philosophical expositions of the teaching of the Buddha. The organization within the Sangha following the Pātimokkha is essentially same in all schools. And finally, the authenticity of the Mahāyāna bhikkhunīs should be accepted from evidence provided that they have maintained the same lineage as the Theravādin bhikkhunīs.

The fifth chapter studies the monastic rules laid down specially for bhikkhunīs. This attempt is made to show the internal administration within the Bhikkhunī Sangha. The emphasis made by the Buddha on the eve of the Mahāpa-

rinibbāna on the co-existence of Dhamma and Vinaya proved to be rational and practical. There were cases of bhikkhunis who learned Dhamma but never put it in practice, and therefore failed to help themselves to achieve salvation. One who aims at spiritual attainment must keep in mind and practice the balance of these two main principles, i.e., wisdom and practice.

I

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE PRE-BUDDHISTIC PERIOD

A systematic and coherent picture of the life of women admitted to the Buddhist Order can be adequately brought out by examining the state of affairs which existed regarding the position of women in the pre-Buddhist literatures. This task is taken with the view that it will throw some light on the continuities and discontinuities of certain trends of thought and traditions which prevailed in India for centuries and tremendously influenced Buddhism in one way or the other. While treating the position of women in society in general, as gathered through some important Brahmanic literatures, the attempt will mainly be confined to the position of women in the Vedic and the Upanisadic period, although occasional references will also be madeto some other sources which may determine the attitude of the Hindu society towards women in confirmity with the high traditions established by the Vedic and Upanisadic currents of thought. The position of women is largely fashioned by the cultural background of a particular society

in a particular age; evidences of which can be collected by cross-cultural studies and various other investigations (philosophical, religious,political, etc.) of objective nature. Here, the main efforts lie in providing an objective analysis of the problem established by important literary and religious sources. The effect of Buddhism on the status of women can be evaluated by comparing the status of women in pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic society. An attempt will therefore be made to see the similarities and dissimilarities of attitudes between Brahmanic and Buddhistic literatures towards women by presenting a systematic exposition of the general status of women as discussed in both these traditions.

It is known that Vedic and Upanisạdic women had a good deal of freedom in using their minds and souls as a means of self expression in all worldly and spiritual matters but an impartial and objective study of those literatures will suggest that this freedom was restricted to a certain degree under the framework of the domestic life which was conditioned by the supremacy of the husband and the technicalities of household activities. Therefore during these periods, there existed sufficient scope for bringing out a revolution which might offer various opportunities for women having the same aspirations and desires as men have. Buddhism had its role to play in this sphere; it can

be marked by its outstanding interest in granting "liberty or emancipation (vimutti) and the expansion of her essential nature as human being apart from her feminity."[1] In order to show this, it is imperative to consider the Brahmanic phases of thought to throw into greater relief that which the Buddhist movement had constantly in view to bring forth in matters of salvation which lies enshrined in each and every person to be actually worked out. Men as well as women are equally capable of realising the best within them by closely adhering to the Dhamma which allows no discrimination. It does not mean that this opportunity was not offered to women in the pre-Buddhistic age but it was not so explicitly present as found in Buddhism. Changes brought by Buddhism in over all conditions of women can be appropriately regarded as a movement which is worth noting in the words of such a great scholar as Rhys Davids herself.

> It was this, that those first women missioners were with their brother missioners, concerned to win opportunity to spend themselves about; it was for this that the really worthy among them wanted "liberty", this for which they valued liberty. We might call this "educating the souls" of the Many; in India they called it "realising the man" (puruśa, atta).[2]

The fundamental achievement of Buddhism lies in bringing women equal to men regardless of their sex; here is the very man beneath or above sex. Buddhism stands for the complete realization of the Dhamma without the slightest dis-

crimination in the level of final achievement. Women were not taken simply as an object of marriage, as child-bearers or in the spirit of complete subservience to their husbands or household activities. They were free to decide their destiny and the way of life they chose. They were entitled to all privileges and opportunities at par with men in regard to spiritual attainment. It is no surprise, then, that women themselves came forward and accelerated this movement by their intelligence, will and sincerity of purpose. They influenced mankind with their unfailing powers of devotion, sacrifice, courage and ability to face the subleties and hardships of religious life. Under those circumstances, it was impossible for men to overlook the growing and legitimate demands of women, but on the contrary, they gave them way to spread out more fully. Horner puts this advancement most beautifully in the following:

> The men, for their part, appreciated the Dhamma, and acquiesced - though tardily - in the widening of the field of women's activities. Thus, amid many currents, intricate but potent, the tide turned; and in its flow the position of women, as manifested in secular affairs, became one which was honourable and therefore bearable; women were acknowledged at last to be capable of working as a constructive force in the society of day. 3

In support to the above remarks, it may be added that even in the pre-Buddhist period, women were recognized as constructive force and they had vital role to play in the society. But, of course, there were certain restrictions

imposed upon them regarding obligatory marriage, propagation of race, responsibilities towards domestic life, etc. Buddhism did not subscribe to the above beliefs and discarded the current idea that sons were essential for the safe transportation of father to the heaven.[4] Secondly, as already mentioned earlier, women were granted more freedom because too much of obedience to their husbands led them to a blind belief and Buddhism accomplished it by accepting marriage as not obligatory and the birth of a daughter as not disgraceful. In the pre-Buddhist period, in all probability the majority of wives devoted themselves entirely to their husbands' service, although it is unquestionably true that they enjoyed a very dignified position but they were always taken as belonging to the house and it was imperative for them to be submissive to the senior members of the family.

In the Vedic literatures, they had all privileges to participate in all religious performances and the sacrificial rites.[5] In their philosophical knowledge some of them had attained eminence and their discussions were always of animated nature, for example, Visvara had been described as philosopher (Brahma-vādinī) and greatly proficient in the Vedic texts (Mantra draśtri).[6] Ghosa, another woman has the distinction of writing two hymns in the Rig Veda.[7] We find several other women occupying really unique positions in the philosophical and religious world. Sāsvati

Apāla, Indrāni, Sikata and Nivanāri are only a few of them who had as much distinguished themselves in this area as men.

Aditi, the common mother of gods and men, has filled the Vedic hymns with awe and admiration. Nature has been shown to be represented by her in its all colourful ways. The Vedic poets evoked her with filial love :

> O,divine Aditi, patroness, worthy of confidence and cherished come with these wise gods, these faithful protectors. [8]

and again,"O, divine and good Aditi, I call on thee to succour us.."[9] Aditi was identified with Earth from which everything sprang. The Earth was worshipped as mother and described as fertile and inexhaustible, flowing with rivers and bedecked with mountains. The dawn has again inspired the devotional songs of the Vedic seers. Aurora (the goddess of dawn) has been addressed as a good mother of family who comes to protect the world; her arrival puts a stop to the devils. The whole world prostrates itself at her appearance which shines with her gentle radiance.[10] We have already referred to the fact that Aditi united men with gods and this gives great significance to the eminent personifications. This clearly means that without women, there can be no possibility of uniting oneself with god. This union is possible when husbands are always accompanied by their wives in all religious performances. The Rig Veda also gives us the interesting story of Brhaspati who went for

meditation without his wife and the gods explained to him the incompleteness of the penance and meditation because of the absence of his wife. Women had great strength of character and they were greatly aware of their important roles in the society. This fact has been asserted by Indrāni,wife of Indra, "I reign, I command. My voice inspires terror.I am the victorious one ; may my husband recognise my strength. O, Devas, it is I who made the sacrifice from which the great and glorious Indra derived all his strength"[11] The implications of the above assertions and prayers show the symbolic character of women typified in the goddesses, and in the later verses, clear and elaborate feminine elements of vital significance can be found.

It is also interesting to note that three goddesses have been mentioned as presiding over sacrifices in the Rig Veda: Ita, the rite; Bhārati, the poetical union of gesture and voice; and lastly Sarasvati, the holy word. It must be made clear that the above representations by goddesses do not only symbolise physical forces but also pre-eminently moral and religious implications. Prayer, speech, learning, sublimity of beauty and goodness are the general characteristics of the above goddesses and these qualities constitute their special significances in the society. This has been very beautifully and poetically presented by Vedic seers according to which women are shown as collecting Kusa, the

grass for sacrifice and the plant from which the soma was extracted, This gave reflection to the idea that women enjoyed a status equal to that of men.

The very term "devi" used for women in the Hindu tradition derived its religious significance from the Veda. As already seen the wife accompanies her husband in all sacrifices. The Agni (fire) puts forth her radiance around the house wife and therefore she receives this title of de-vi (div,meaning to shine). The coupled life had a great obligation towards the gods and notice is made for the fer-vent of faith and adoration mentioned in the sacred books in the following way :

> "O gods," says the Rig Veda, "the married couple who together intend to present to you libations and offerings without ceasing, who together come on the grass to place there the sacred food and to prepare an abundant repast for you, who implore your good will, who honour you with praises and shower presents upon you; this couple, surrounded by little children and growing sons and daughters pass a happy life, and are clothed in raiment shin-ing with gold. 12

The above evidences are sufficient to show that in the Vedic age women had a good religious status and in the society they enjoyed a considerably privileged position. In the Vedic India, there was no distinct discrimination between men and women. It has also been observed that in the scheme of āśramas, women had as much rights to avail of these schemes as men had. Some of the learned women of

that time actually participated in the above order along with their husbands. They were permitted to study the Vedas and Śāstras. As regards the Grhasthāśrama men and women are equal partners and both are responsible for their contribution to the solidarity of the family and society. They are found performing all religious duties jointly and the attainment of the highest goal is impossible without their joint co-operation. So is the case with two other āśramas, i.e. Vanaprasthāśrama as well as Sanyāśrama[13] and we have some examples which show that women also led the life of the Sanyasini along with their husbands. The content of the husband was necessary for their participation in these orders but this is equally true on the part of husband who had to seek the permission of his wife for the renunciation of the world. There is not any example, according to which husband was not given permission by wife in the Vedic literature and it is also hard to see that wife was denied the privilege by her husband in the Vedic India.

Between the Vedic and Brahmanical periods came the transitory epoch, which witnessed the emergence of the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power and whose literary monuments are the Brahmanas and Śāstras. But it is equally true that these traditions still accepted women as having the liberty of religious aspirations. In the Upanisadic period, we find women actively participating into

philosophical discussions on such serious and complicated questions as those of the immortalily of soul and self-realization. In the Upanisadic dialogues the Aryan genius of spiritualism was freely displayed in all its grandeur and women are seen as initiating the solemn conversation. We can find a beautiful dialogue of a great philosophical nature in the conversation between Maitreyi and Yajnavalkya. Max Muller has very beautifully translated the whole of the dialogues in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.[14] The remark of Maitreyi;

> What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knows of (immortality) may he tell that to me. 15

This proves beyond doubt, how much curiosity she had in the persuit of philosophical learning. She had a complete belief in the universal soul and the summum bonum of her life consisted in the realization of the liberation (mokśa). This type of teaching was imparted to women and she was fully capable of receiving and understanding it. Of course, Maitreyi is a rare case but this incident shows that there was no discrimination against women in the learning of the sacred texts and discussing them. Those women who performed meditation and penances for the liberation of soul must have had intellectual and philosophical education. At any rate, the fact that they had excellent men-

tal training is undeniable.

Because of the above positions, women under Buddhism were delighted to champion the cause of their emancipation and take a free and active part. Interesting examples are Soma and Viśākha whom we will have occasion to discuss in more detail later. A general impression gathered through their lives and activities shows that their efforts lay in making their own salvation an explicit quest. However, this attitude seems to be quite in tune with Indian spiritualism and Buddhism is no exception to it. Viśākha, the prominent supporter of the Sangha (Buddhist Order) envisaged this new religious world as a "making to grow within herself" and her following utterances should be taken accordingly, "let me make this gift to the community; it will be in me a source of becoming (Bhāvana) in moral and spiritual growth."[16] The Buddha decided to accept their enthusiastic dedication to this noble cause and preached his Dhamma to both men and women and also accepted house-holders and their wives for the propagation of his teachings and principles.

Therefore, it may be genuinely accepted that Buddhism gave impetus to some vital changes in the field of women's activities which became explicitly visible. These changes are quite significant in the sense that they attracted many women who strictly upheld the principles

which they deliberately and profitably accepted. Since Buddhism disregards ceremonial activities and sacrificial rites, there was no room for their being considered as unfit for it. The emphasis on the supremacy of the priestly class is removed.

Another point worth noticing in this connection is the over all changes in the Buddhistic structure of religion regarding religious attitudes which were widely different from the Brahmanic tradition.[17] In ancient India, as we have mentioned earlier, any type of religious performance devotion, worship rites, etc. was prescribed to be performed jointly by couples and never separately. Brahmanism also went to the extreme of asserting that in order to have a genuine passport to heaven, one must be graced by the son who undergoes the performance of all rituals after the death of the father. This restriction implicitly implied the compulsary marriage of women without which she could not work out either her salvation or the salvation of the husband she is married to. In performing sacrifice, woman has only a share in it and that also depending on the husband. But since sacrifice has no place in Buddhism woman is automatically free from this obligation, she can achieve salvation independently of her husband, or even the propagation of children.[18] This is certainly admitting women to greater privileges than Brahmanism was prepared

to do. Therefore, the growth of an Order was a new type of experiment in religious construction and on all standards, it was a successful one. Women were greatly enthusiastic to participate in this grand venture for which time and leadership were fully opportune and propitious as it was distinguished by greater reverence and freedom towards them than it had ever been before. Perfect wisdom both of thought and expression was permitted equally to everybody. They also proved the fact that they were equally capable of attaining Arahantship or sainthood, the supreme goal of religious life. Hence it is in no way surprising that they were allowed to join the Order, subject to the same regulation as were prescribed for monks and to certain other disciplinary measures drawn up on their admission. Women were regarded as possessing everything potentially good and it was quite legitimate to show them the same way of happiness and salvation as for men, despite all the discrimination and inferiority imposed upon them.

In Brahmanism women enjoyed certain privileges in religious activities, but they were never allowed to perform any sacrificial rites even though their presence was required. There was never any priestess, where as in Buddhism women enjoyed as much privilege as men did, even in regard to preaching Dhamma to the laity, not to mention their success in achieving the supreme goal. In that matter

women in Buddhism enjoyed the highest privilege in religious participation more than women of any other known religions.

The above survey is an attempt to present the position of women as gathered from the pre-Buddhist literatures i.e.,Vedas and Upanisads and show briefly and vividly that Buddhism established an excellent advancement in this regard. Regarding advances made by Buddhism, the material depended largely upon Vinaya Pitaka, one of the oldest Buddhist books in existence and particularly in those portions of it popularly known as Bhikkhunī Khandaka and the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga. The Psalms of the Sisters and the commentaries of them shed sufficient light on the position pertaining to the spiritual existence and aspiration of women. The above literatures are important sources to show that Buddhism brought out a significant change in the spiritual phenomena of the womankind. In addition to keeping all achievements of Brahmanism in regard to the signified position of women, it went a step forward in giving them complete freedom despite their feminity and weaker biological structure, in the matters of the summum bonum of life and its achievement. The unmarried women as well as women with daughters were no more a disgrace to the society but on the contrary, they were assigned self respect by honourably remaining their true selves without running

public scorn. Obviously, Buddhism wanted to free religion from all its superficial outward manifestations and it achieved incredible success. Women from all castes were admitted[19] and religion was not simply the birth- right of a few privileged ones. In The Psalms of the Sisters, we find the names of authors coming from all status of society and perhaps this was an explicit advancement over Brahmanism.

II

BUDDHA AND HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN

Before proceeding on to the discussion of the formation of the Bhikkhunī Sangha in the history of Buddhism, it is necessary to understand the general impression the Buddha might have in regard to women. Taking such an approach will enrich one's understanding of the situations and problems arising thereafter. This chapter will deal mainly with various female personalities and emphasize only their encounters with the Buddha prior to the formation of the bhikkhunis, in order to help determine some controversial problems raised on the admission of the bhikkhunīs.

Every religious philosopher inherits certain characteristics from tradition and fashions his dispositions and attitudes by the environment and various forces directly working upon him in the society in which he lives. Gotama Buddha was not an exception to this fact. Therefore, an attempt should be made to understand the general attitude towards women which developed in his mind as a result of his close association with them. It is important to look

into the early period of his life story before making any judgement about the Buddha in regard to his feelings towards women. One point is clear, that the Buddha thought women are as capable of attaining spiritual goals as men. The answer the Buddha gave to Ānanda concerning women was clear :

> Are the Buddhas born in the world only for the benefit of men? Assurely it is for the benefit of females as well. When I delivered the Tirokudha-Sutra, many women entered the paths, as did also many devis when I delivered the Abhidharma in Tawatiśa. Have not Wiśakha, and many other upāsikāwas entered the paths? The entrance is open for women as well as men. 1

The Buddha never indicated that women did not have the same chance that men had, or that they were unfit by their nature to attain Arahantship. Salvation is matter of choice and privilege, and there can be no discrimination. The following quotation will strengthen the point.

> And be it woman, be it man for whom
> Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
> Into Nirvana's presence shall they come. 2

The unequivocal frankness of the above statement is not something strange, and it clearly establishes a unique tradition in the religious sphere of the life of womankind. Before Buddhism, it was the general tradition to accept the birth of daughter as a disaster and an obstacle to spiritual attainment, but the Buddhistic movement ended this unjust tendency an accepted them as fully competent to play the same role as men in regard to spiritual

development. Gotama seems to have supported the progressive view of accepting daughters who "may prove even a better offspring than sons."[3]

In the Buddhistic period the exclusive supremacy of men gave way before the increasing emancipation of women. Horner puts this change in the following words :

> Thus amid many currents, intricate but potent, the tide turned; and in its flow the position of women, as manifested in secular affairs, became one which was no longer intolerable and therefore bearable; women were acknowledged at last to be capable of working as a constructive force in the society of the day. [4]

The social position of widows was improved and they had no risk of being abused or humiliated or taken as a sign of ill-omen; they were also not deprived of their participation in religious or domestic festivals and they were at the same time entitled to inherit property and certainly to manage it.[5]

As regards the remarriage or marriage of the widow, there was continuity of the Vedic tradition which prevailed even in the Buddhistic period with certain reservations. There does not seem to be any prescription on remarriage in the Vedic texts and in certain cases widows were allowed to remarry her husband's younger brother,[6] therefore it may be said here that the same tradition continued even in the Buddhistic period.

Though the remarriage of widows was socially

accepted, only one instance of widow remarriage has been recorded. This might be due possibly to the fact that widows used to join the Order and so had no need to remarry.[7] This shows that widows of that time were already spiritually inclined, and that they preferred leading a homeless life to a worldly one.

Mahāpajāpati, step-mother and the aunt of the Buddha possibly had the spiritual interest like most of the Hindu widows. When her husband, King Suddhodana passed away, she asked to join the Order. She has become an outstanding cultural and religious figure in the history of the Bhikkhunī Sangha, as Maitreyi was in the Upanisadic period, Mahāpajāpati was the first woman whom Gotama knew, she treated him with great care, even more than her own son. Through this close relationship, she must have tremendously influenced Gotama by her sincerity and devotion. She was a devoted lady who can be adequately accepted as a champion in the cause of women's admission to the Order.[8]

Mahāpajāpati, being a queen, must have held responsibilities in the internal welfare of the palace. Possibly she gave the picture of a woman who was capable of managing affairs, affectionate and devoted to her husband and the welfare of her children. Gotama being a motherless prince, was entitled to extra love and care from her. She played the most important role in the admission of the Bhikkhunī

Sangha, which will be discussed again in the next chapter.

The next female figure coming into our discussion is Yasodharā. Being prince Gotama's wife, she had also, to a great extent, given him some of his ideas about female characteristics. Yasodharā was again a devoted and sincere woman. Evidence to support this statement is shown when the Buddha went back to visit Kapilvatthu (Skt.Kapilvaśtu) for the first time after his enlightenment. He learned that since he had left home Yasodharā had been leading an austere life, putting on a piece of yellow cloth and taking one meal a day.[9] She was devoted to Gotama and when Gotama left home to become an ascetic, she also followed the same practice though remaining in the palace with her husband's family. This was a traditional practice which some Hindu women had taken upon themselves, thus it was nothing strange or unusual.

Records also tell us that during the Buddha's visit to the palace of his father, Yasodharā did not come out to greet him like all the rest of the family. The Buddha went to visit her in her quarters along with one of the eminent disciples, Sārīputta.[10] This may show that she insisted that the Buddha should make the initiative to come to see her, afterall the years she had been faithfully waiting for him. She may have considered it a question of pride. She might

also have been hurt at the attitude of Gotama when he left for the pursuit of the ascetic life without informing her.

Again, her aim of leading an ascetic life did not appear to be for spiritual goals. It might have been a penance offered for the return of Gotama as it is recorded that she asked Rāhula, her son, to ask the Buddha for his heritage. Had she been practising the ascetic life for its own sake in order to achieve higher spiritual attainment she would not have been interested in making such a suggestion to her son.

These were the two main female characters in Gotama's life. The Tibetan sources supply the information that Gotama had three wives; namely, Gopa, Yasodharā and Utpalavarna, and that all of them were extremely beautiful.[11] But there is no record telling us more about each of them as a person who might have given impression to Gotama in regard to the general notion about women. Nevertheless the Tibetan source shows that besides Yasodharā, mother of Rāhula, Gotama may have taken many more mistresses. According to one account he was provided with 40,000 dancing girls[12] who were at his disposal every moment with their charming features and beautiful garments.

In order to keep the prince in the worldly life so that he might become the Monarch of monarchs, King Suddhodana provided the young prince with all possible physical

comforts. Prince Gotama lived luxuriously among a great number of beautiful girls, whose main concern was to charm and entertain the prince. Thus he must have had wide experience regarding the actions and reactions of women, possibly he had fully perceived some of the worldly and sensuous women through his own experience. He was always surrounded by dancing girls and he was free to indulge himself into any pleasure of the worldly life. This experience, lasting many years, might have been responsible for his unpleasant ideas about women as one may gather from his conversation with Ānanda :

> Women are soon angered; women are full of passion; women are envious; women are stupid. That is the reason, Ānanda, that is the cause, why women have no place in public assemblies, do not carry on business and do not earn their living by any profession. 13

The acquaintance with some of the court-girls may well have made him disgusted and suffocated, therefore, it is not strange to see some of his utterances wholly condemning women as faulty and of an emotional and passionate nature. He would have also come across the envious nature of some of the women because when girls were numerous and all of them had the common task of attracting and entertaining the prince, they must have felt jealous and envious towards each other. The Buddha must have thought them highly pretentious and stupid. Thus the idea behind

the above quotation is correct as it applies to such a type of women, but it would be rather unjust for universal application. The Buddha had the capacity to take a balanced view, and he could not have really meant to apply his statements to all women.

The encounter with Mānavikā (or Ciñca) should also be noted. Mānavikā was not called a Jain, but a student in some ascetic Order. She was persuaded by members of the hostile sect to pretend to pay visits to the Buddha at Jetavana to simulate pregnancy. But her false accusation was revealed, and it is recorded that she was swallowed up in the lowest hell (aveci).[14] Mānavikā herself had no personal grudge against the Buddha but she was misled by others.

There is another story, of Sundarī, a female paribbājika, who also was persuaded by members of her sect to pretend that she paid visits to the Buddha at Jetavana. Plotters had her killed and her body was found in Jetavana.[15] In both cases the common feature is that the women were persuaded by other people, the wicked ideas were not originally their own, nor had they any personal dislike towards the Buddha. It possibly reassured the Buddha that women were easily misguided and were not quite capable of making right judgement on their own. They were, not very

seldom, subjected to emotional and subjective feelings, resulting in the wrong judgements. The strong sense that women should always be dependent upon the male members of the family is always presented, and the cases quoted above made him endorse the traditional belief. This point is important and will be taken up for further discussion in the following chapter.

For the period after the Buddha left the world in order to become a wandering ascetic in search of truth, only one account states that he met two female hermits who offered him shelter which he politely declined and proceeded further on to Vesāli (Skt.Vaiśāli).[16] These female hermits were private ascetics, did not belong to any particular group, or school of thoughts. Their religious practice and aim did not make any impression on Gotama, had there been a significant one, it would have been recorded. But the point of the generousity of the female hermits cannot be denied.

The various accounts of the six year period of wandering remains silent about any other encounter of Gotama with females. Presumbly he did not meet any other women, and if he did, they did not make any significant impression worth recording. Another woman he met before his enlightenment was Sujata who offered him milk-rice

which gave strength to his body until he attained the Supreme Wisdom.Her gift was considered as "one of the two gifts that will be blest above all others."[17] Here women gave an impression of being devoted and earnest.

But it would be wrong to assume that there were no female mendicants or philosophers during the six years of his ascetic life prior to the enlightenment. In the <u>Parmattha Dipāni</u>[18] we are told of a lady who had been wandering from villege to villege discussing various metaphysical and philosophical questions. We have also heard about Brahmani Sari who defeated her husband, Tishya in philosophical argument, thus her son was named Upatishya, who became the well known Thera in the Buddhist Order, more commonly known as Sārīputta,[19] the Buddha's disciple. From these incidents, the Buddha might have formed the idea that women were capable of transcendental knowledge. They were able in metaphysical and philosophical discussion, proving themselves well in this matter. Some of the well known figures are discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation.

There are several passages which clearly point out the Buddha's sympathetic attitudes towards women. Two stories taken from Udana show that Gotama was always ready to provide assistance to women within reasonable limits. Suppavasa and the wife of Sangamāji[20] had the full attention of the Buddha when they were grief-striken. The

Buddha had a high appreciation for Nakulamātā [21] for her able and learned explanation of the religious doctrines and principles. He was a great healer and physician to women, as may be shown by referring to the story of Kisā-Gotami as available in the Pali literature. [22] There are also similar stories showing his noble and kind feelings towards women in <u>The Light of Asia</u>, <u>Therīgāthā</u>, <u>Therīgāthā Commentary</u> and the <u>Dhammapada Commentary</u>. The following verses expressing the feelings of Kisā-Gotami is worth noting :

> Nibbāna have I realized and gazed
> Into the mirror of the holy norm.
> I, even I, am healed of my hurt,
> Low is my burden laid, my task is done,
> My heart is wholly set at liberty. [23]

Her heart was set at liberty by the healing capacity of the Buddha who listened to her problem and helped her to come on to the path of peace and happiness. The Buddha offered sympathy and showed her the true nature and she found security and tranquillity in his Dhamma. It must be noted here that the Buddha's guidance and assistance were available to any one in need of it. No question was too subtle none was too trivial for him to give it the best of his attention. Liberation is meant for all and when the Buddha perceived any of his disciples both male and female whose spiritual knowledge was mature enough, he offered them his kind guidance. The Bhikkhunī Sona obtained Arahantship when

"the Lord seeing her knowledge maturing, sent forth glory and appeared as if seated before her."[24] Horner summarizes the general attitude of Buddha towards women in the following way :

> The personality of the Master, the honour in which he held women, and the deference and consideration which he consistently showed towards them, could not have failed to impress contemporary society. This aspect of his life is but an exemplification of the way in which the personality of the founder of a religious or monastic movement is a cardinal factor in the initial spread of the movement. Gotama's methods with women and the example he set to men must have been powerful forces in raising the status of women: a boon which they repaid by their large allegiance and manifold devotion to the religion of which he was the embodiment and chief exponent. 25

The above various encounters of the Buddha with women prior to the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha enable one to draw certain conclusions. As to woman's emotional aspect, the Buddha might have had the impression that some women were easily angered and that they tended to be more jealous and stupid. From the social point of view, it appears that he thought women should be under men's guidance for they were more liable to make unfit decisions, having a strong emotional aspect as the leading force of their characters. But they were also capable in the field of higher study, they were devoted and generous.

In regard to the spiritual realm the Buddha made it crystal clear that the difference of sex does not stand

in anybody's way to the attaining of salvation. The supreme spiritual achievement is open to all alike. True religion never questions the potential divinity of human beings and this is particularly relevant to all the religious which flourished in the east and Buddhism is not an exception to this fact.

With these few points in mind, they might enable us to deal with the problem in the next chapter with clearer understanding and provide us the opportunity to handle the subject analytically and objectively.

III

THE FORMATION OF THE BHIKKHUNĪ SANGHA

With the information and analytical study from the previous chapter on the general psychological impression made by women on the Buddha, we are now better equipped to discuss some controversial problems of the admittance of women to the Order. Certain utterances made by the Buddha should not be taken at face value, as circumstances and many other conditions must be taken into account in order to understand their real meaning. In the introduction to Sutta Pitaka, there is usually a full account of where and when the Buddha spoke; what was the occasion which led him to utter that particular speech; and to whom the speech was made.[1] These introductions are supplied precisely to enable one to understand the utterance better, taking into consideration various conditions both external and internal.

This present chapter is an attempt to understand certain sayings made by the Buddha in regard to women and their admission into the Order. A critical analysis on the charges against Ānanda in connection with the formation

of the Bhikkhunī Sangha is also made. It might be well to state the situations and various conditions of the problem before taking up a critical study.

After the death of King Suddhodana, Mahāpajāpati approached the Buddha, who was then residing in Kapilvatthu, for admission to join the Order. She was continually denied for three times. But being sincere in her request, Mahāpajāpati along with five hundred royal women shaved off their hair and donned yellow robe as the Buddha prescribed to the bhikkhus. They followed the Buddha along the rough and tiring path to Veśāli, the place where the Buddha came to reside.[2] Being formerly refused by the Buddha, they waited outside with swollen feet and weary bodies, covered with dust and dirt from the journey across the town.

Ānanda, being the Buddha's cousin, thus also related to Mahāpajāpati, was then personal attendent to the Buddha. When he noticed this large group of women in such distress, he naturally inquired into the matter.[3] On learning the issue, he approached the Buddha asking on behalf of women-folk for their admission to the Order.[4] The Buddha again refused, but with patience and in his thoughtfully penetrating conversation with the Buddha, finally Ānanda got the Buddha to accept the Order of women from the fact that they are equally capable of spiritual attainment.[5]

With the acceptance of women-folk into the Order,

Eight important rules (Gurudhamma) were laid down for them. They are :

1. A nun who has been ordained (even) for a century must greet respectfully, rise up from her seat, salute with joined palms, do proper homage to a monk ordained but that day.
2. A nun must not spend the rains in a residence where there is no monk.
3. Every half month a nun should desire two things from the Order of monks: the asking (as to the date) of the Observance day, and the coming for the exhortation.
4. After the rains a nun must 'invite' before both the Orders in respect of three matters: what was seen, what was heard, what was suspected.
5. A nun, offending against an important rule, must undergo manatta (discipline) for half a month before both the Orders.
6. When, as a probationer, she has trained in the six rules for two years, she should seek ordination from both the Orders.
7. A monk must not be abused or reviled in any way by a nun.
8. From to-day admonition of monks by nuns is forbidden, admonition of nuns by monks is not forbidden. 6

After establishing the Gurudhamma, the Buddha was also reported to make a prophesy that by accepting women into the Order, his Dhamma would be shortened. As it appears in his own words :

> If, Ānanda, women had not obtained the going forth from home into homelessness in the Dhamma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, the Brahma-faring, Ānanda, would have lasted long, true Dhamma would have endured for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have gone forth...in the Dhamma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, now, Ānanda, the Brahma-faring will not last long, true Dhamma will endure only for five hundred years.
>
> Even, Ānanda, as those households which have many women and few men easily fall a prey to

> robbers, to pot-thieves, even so, Ānanda in whatever Dhamma and discipline women obtain the going forth from home into homelessness, that Brahma-faring will not last long. ...Even, Ānanda, as a man, looking forward, may build a dyke to a great reservoir so that the water may not overflow, even so, Ānanda, were the Eight important rules for nuns laid down by me, looking forward, not to be transgressed during their life. [7]

The fact that the Buddha was reluctant to establish the formation of the bhikkhunī has been given various interpretations and explanations, raising many controversial arguments. The Buddha was reluctant to accept women into the Order, primarily because he was aware that it was not simply a question of the admission of women but that there were many other problems involved thereafter.

The immediate objection was possibly Mahāpajāpati herself. Since she used to live a luxurious life of the palace and had never been acquainted with the experience of hardship, it was almost unimaginable to see the queen going from house to house begging for meals.[8] It might be out of pity and compassion that the Buddha refused her request to join the Order, because he could not bring himself to the point of letting her undergo such a hard and strenuous life in the wilderness.

Mahāpajāpati was not alone, she had a great number of the royal women with her. The Buddha must have been reminded of his worldly experience spent in the palace

in the company of the dancing girls, which might have caused him to doubt their sincerity in asking to lead the monastic life.

There was also problem of the shortage of female members in Śākya clan.[9] It was a strictly observed custom for the Śākyan to marry within their own clan.[10] Since the Śākya was not a big clan, if five hundred princesses left their household and domestic obligations, a serious problem would be inevitable. The Buddha was possibly aware of this which would have forced the practice of mixed marriage which was very much against the policy long preserved within the clan.[11]

It is also probable that the residential problem and the separate arrangements required for women might have occupied the mind of the Buddha. The evils of sectarianism were so pervasive that women were likely to be humiliated and harrassed if they were provided seperate place for their accommodation by themselves. It was not possible to arrange for their stay with the bhikkhus, nevertheless it was necessary to provide some protection for them. The Buddha possibly thought about the problem of finding suitable teachers for imparting religious training in both rules and instructions.[12] He really found it difficult to select competent teachers for the purpose, therefore, it would be difficult for him to take the immediate decision

for their admission to the Order. He did not want to create the internal problems within the Sangha itself which was quite inevitable if women were admitted and put close to the residence of the bhikkhus. The Buddha knew very well that his male disciples, except the Arahants, were still far from perfection. Some of them were yet like ordinary people but clad in yellow robes with shaved heads. They were still full of faults; some of them committed blunders. The Lord had to rebuke them more than once, and often in the following manner:

> It is not suitable, foolish man, it is not fitting, it is not becoming, it is not allowable, it is not to be done, for how can you foolish man, one who has gone forth, (to do such and such)... 13

It was not only the bhikkhus but also the bhikkhunīs who might have created problems either knowingly or unknowingly which might have caused disturbances in the Sangha, obstructing others' tranquility and the spiritual advancement. They might not be capable of helping themselves, and in addition, they could have become disturbing elements to others.

To allow women to spend the homeless life required a great many precautions and protections. Women, being thought of as the desirous sex, invited many dangers. The Buddha was possibly highly concerned about this fact. As

we read in Mahāvagga, after the admission of the bhikkhunīs, there were cases when the bhikkhunīs really had to face dangerous problems and some of them were victims of evil-minded men.

> Now at that time several nuns were going along the high road from Sāketa to Sāvatthi, thieves, having issued forth on the road, robbed some nuns and seduced other nuns. 14

There were a few more stories of this nature which show that women cannot possibly lead the ascetic life without being harassed.

Again women were always the centre of the family and played an organic function in the household. If he allowed women to join the Order, he would have deprived many families of the sole organ of the household. A home cannot be a home without women to play their role. Household life always centred around them, from whom pleasure, comfort, and happiness come. Also the Sangha depended largely on the support of the laity, so if the centre of of family life were taken away the foundation of the support would be shaken, affecting the welfare of the Sangha, and eventually the progress of Buddhism.

These are a few of the possible reasons responsible for the Buddha's reluctant attitude towards the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha. But had he thought that these objections or obstacles could not be overcome he would

never have given them permission. He was reluctant, nevertheless he gave them his consent. We have also read in Mahāvagga that he was reluctant before, about whether he should preach Dhamma or not.

After his enlightenment, he pondered over the problem, realizing that the Truth was indeed subtle, and that ordinary people would not be able to understand it. With this thought he was inclined to remain silent and to not preach the doctrine.[15] But Sahampati Brahma pointed it out to him that there are people who are potentially capable of attaining salvation yet are not able to do so unless they have heard his Saddhamma. Various types of people were compared to the four types of lotus.[16] Those above the water are capable of understanding his Dhamma. Finally the Buddha made up his mind to make known his Saddhamma, being convinced by Sahampati Brahmā.

The Buddha had his reasons for being reluctant, nevertheless at second thought he agreed to preach the doctrine. This point proves that we cannot simply pass a judgement against a question simply because of the fact that he was reluctant. The same reasoning can be applied to his reluctance to admit women into the Order. The arguments both for and against the problem concerned presented themselves. Being more convinced in the arguments for the establishment of the Bhikkhunī Sangha, he finally granted their wish.

The reluctant attitude of the Buddha has also been explained from another prospective in A Manual of Buddhism, where we read :

> It was clearly perceived by the sage that if these females were admitted to profession, they would derive therefrom immense advantages; and he saw also that it was the practice of former Buddhas to admit them; but he reflected that if they were admitted, it would perplex the minds of those who had not yet entered into the paths, and cause others to speak against his institutions. 17

This would explain that the Buddha's reluctance was superficial but the point here is only to show the approval of the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha. Various objections against the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha have been already discussed earlier. It is now an appropriate time turning to examine some of the reasons responsible for the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha.

The Buddha must have observed the fact that Mahāpajāpati was earnest in her request, since when she followed him to Veśāli along with the five hundred royal women she had already donned the yellow robe and shaved off her hair. As a matter of fact she was already ordained by the sincerity of her mind. Whether the Buddha accepted her or not, he could not neglect the fact that spiritually and physically she had fully become a paribbajika (female wanderer). The thought of sending her back to worldly life was indeed unimaginable. Had not the Buddha accepted her,

she would still be a paribbājikā on her own, leading her followers from place to place. If that was the case it would have been improper not to give her protection and spiritual instruction when he was asked for and he was in a position to give them.

The strong determination and sincere persuit of Mahāpajāpati played a most vital role in the admission of women to the Order. The problem of the royal women about whose sincerity he was doubtful was also solved. Just as joining his Order was not a compulsion, neither was it a life long bond. The royal women could remain in the Order as long as they thought fit, or they could leave any time they pleased. When there was no forcing power, there was no psychological effect on the Sangha and the organization was smoother and more successful.

His concern about the security of female disciples was answered by the <u>Gurudhamma</u> 2, restricting them to spend their rain-retreat only in the place where there are the bhikkhus from whom they would receive protection and instruction. There is a tone of traditional influence in that women are to be always protected, and when she joins the Order the duty of protection falls on the bhikkhus, since they are the male members of the Order. The idea that women often cannot make proper judgement, that their judge-

ments are subjected to various emotional drives, has given rise to the Gurudhamma 3,7,and 8. The bhikkhunīs are to be dependent upon the bhikkhus and they can neither raise any arguments nor admonish the bhikkhus.

The objection against accepting the five hundred princesses as this might cause a shortage of female members in the Śākya clan was also explained. These royal women were wives of those five hundred princes who had joined the Order earlier and become Arahants.[18] It is recorded that these princesses on hearing that their husbands had become Arahants, thought :

> It would be better for them also to become recluses, than to remain at home in widowhood. They therefore requested Mahāpajāpati to go with them to the Buddha, that they might remain consecretion. 19

This answers the objection that by accepting these women, the Buddha might deprive the families of the central organic element. In this case the initiative was led by the husbands, as the functioning of the household was already broken up when the husbands joined the Order. The Buddha was then free from any possible social objection which might otherwise have been raised by the householders.

Horner observes that :

> Gotama would not have given his consent in any light vein to the establishment of an institution which, although not an innovation, because of the Jains, was yet considered advanced and unusual, but must have

brought a searching scrutiny to bear on all sides of the problem before he finally pronounced his decision. 20

When we turn to look at the Jain tradition, the immediate contemporaneous school, we find that some nuns were already in the picture. Parcva, the 23rd Tirthankara, (about 8th Century B.C.) the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, of whom we have an account in "The Life of Jinas"[21] is said to have had a great number of monks and nuns as followers. Since Veśāli was the flourishing centre of Jainism and probably the Buddha was also aware of the existence of the female Jain ascetics, he must have been reassured about the rightness of his step. Jain lady ascetics were often addressed as "noble lady"[22] which testifies to their honourable status in the social and religious framework. In some of the Upanisads a good deal of importance is attached to the ascetic life.[23] In the _Taitriya Upaniśad_ asceticism has been taken as the supreme value of philosophy and study of the Vedas is seriously prescribed for women.[24] However emphasis in these literatures is always laid on individual asceticism and nowhere do we find the ideal of the communal asceticism being developed but in Jainism and Buddhism.

Regarding the formation of the Bhikkhunī Sangha, the scheme had probably been already worked out in the mind of the women before it was put forward for the appro-

val of the Buddha.

> "They were so much wiser in so many respect," says Horner, "so much older and so much more experienced than the sons they bore that, feeling and knowing this, they could have not remained content with the low and humble position which had been theirs, limited by the confines of the house, their real inclinations had prompted them to renounce their homes and seek the homeless sphere. Here they were convinced that, like many men, they would find satisfaction. 25

The above passage clearly shows that the idea of the bhikkhunīs was not a novel one and the Buddha must have born this fact in mind. The willingness on the part of women was an intense and well calculated phenomenon. These notions were already embedded in oriental thought and this might have been a factor responsible for their readiness to meet the celibacy entailed by the religious personality they were claiming to have. This demonstrates the crying need of the women to follow the path of Release and for the Buddha it was difficult to deny the privilege to them. Prof.Law suggests that the main reasons which prompted women to join the Order might be either due to the influence of the Buddha's Dhamma or that the Order was an easier method of escaping from the suffering to which women were condemned in Hindu society.[26] In many cases both reasons were present.

The Buddha's prophesy about the shortening of his Saddhamma because of the going forth of the women into

the homeless life led to the Gurudhamma which works like a dike, preventing the overflowing of water, in other words, the Gurudhamma guards against the shortening of the Sad - dhamma. The establishing of the Gurudhamma was a deliberate attempt to ensure the continuity of his religion and proper functioning of his Order.

It is important to note that Saddhamma is still prevailing at present which is already more than 2,500 years from the date of the Mahāparinibbāna (Skt.Mahāparinirvāna) of the Buddha. There are certain references which clearly point out that the Saddhamma will last for 5,000 years.[27] There are five disappearances; namely, disappearance of attainment (in the dispensation of Buddha-Dhamma), disappearance of proper conduct (patipatti), disappearance of learning (pariyatti), disappearance of outward form, and disappearance of relics (dhātus).[28] Each disappearance will take 1,000 years. After the elapse of 5,000 years when Dhamma will not endure, there would still be the Sangha. When the Sangha disappears from the scene and the gāthā (verse) of the Buddha is completely forgotten, this situation is called Buddhandara, the age or period of one Buddha.[29] There is no limit to how long or how many years are there in one Buddhandara but the description we have is that till the earth is one Yocana[30] higher. The Buddha-Sāsanāyukāla or the

age of Saddhamma of one Buddha which is said to be 5,000 years has its foundation from Vinaya Pitaka, Sutta Pitaka and commentaries on both. Thus the authenticity cannot be simply brushed aside.

It is needless to justify the legitimacy of the inclusion of women into the Order. It is improper to think that the acceptance of the Bhikkhunī Sangha was due to the persistence of Ānanda, because it is not consistent with either the religious principles of Buddhism or the enlightened personality which the Buddha possessed.[31] Religious principles and decisions are matters of personal convictions and not a matter of imposition from without and so religious leaders are not subjected to the compulsion thrust upon them from external factors but to their insight-led conviction and deep-rooted reflection. But would be unjust to deny or undermine the importance of Ānanda who really played an outstanding role in tackling this serious problem, which has a revolutionary nature. Therefore, it is not pointless to discuss here the role of Ānanda in the formation of the Order of the bhikkhunīs in Buddhism.

Ānanda presents the picture of being the most sincere disciple of the Buddha throughout. His concern towards the Buddha was so intense, in fact so intense that it became the obstacle to his own salvation. Only after the

Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna did he achieve enlightenment and become an Arahant. We have already seen that the Buddha held him in very high esteem and confindence and greatly relied on his thoughtful counselling in serious problems.[32] In the question of the admittance of women to the Order and the proclamation of their equality with male members of the society,[33] Ānanda played a vital role in the thoughtful conversation with the Buddha. He not only discussed serious philosophical problems with the Buddha but also listened to and participated in other matters pertaining to the domestic life and worldly problems.

Having had a close connection with the Buddha for a long time, inspite of the fact that he had not realized the supreme Truth, he could read the Buddha's thought. In Cullavagga, it has been recorded that on one occasion, the Buddha was invited by the king's son who had the carpet spread out on the floor for him. The Buddha did not want to step on the carpet, and when he was requested to do so for the third time, he turned to Ānanda, who immediately understood without any verbal instruction and informed the host of the Buddha's objection.[34] This incident clearly shows the intimacy and understanding Ānanda had with the Buddha.

At the first Council, held at Rajagrha, Ānanda was

a scapegoat who took all the responsibility upon himself in connection with his so-called misdeeds in admitting women to the Order. It is a fact that he played a very important role in providing opportunities and privileges to women. It is really strange to note that he confessed a few accusations which were put against him by some members of the Sangha. It must be noted here that Ānanda himself did not see anything wrong in recommending women to the Order, and for the same reason, legally he did not have to confess. But for the sake of avoiding misunderstanding and confusion among the Sangha, he took upon himself those charges, confessed and apologized.

He must have realized that once in Kosambi, one bhikkhu was said to commit a mistake but he did not see it as a mistake and thus refused to confess.The Sangha broke into two groups; one supporting him and another against him. His persistence led to schism, which was so serious that the Buddha failed to reconcile them and had to leave Kosambi to spend his rain-retreat (*vassa*) alone in the wood.[35] Being aware of this fact Ānanda knew that if he persisted, this might result in another schism. To avoid such trouble, he took the blame on himself. The blame with reference to the subject at hand was :

> This too is an offence of wrong doing for you, reverend Ānanda, in that you made an effort for the going forth of women in the Dhamma and

> and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder. Confess this offence of wrong doing. 36

To which Ānanda replied in following manner :

> But I, honoured sirs, made an effort for the going forth of women in the Dhamma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, thinking: this Gotamid, Pajāpati, the great, is the Lord's aunt, foster-mother, nurse, giver of milk for when the Lord's mother passed away, she suckled him. I do not see that as an offence of wrong doing. 37

The above passage clearly shows Ānanda's character. He mentioned his reasons for including women and his reverence for Mahāpajāpati, and did not hesitate to confess the offences for which he was really not responsible. It also confirms the appreciative remarks of the Buddha about the integrity of the character of Ānanda which consisted in the qualities showing his capability of dealing with people wisely.[38] The Buddha had a very great concern for Ānanda, when he was about to enter the Mahāparinibbāna, Ānanda, facing this situation was sad and depressed it was recorded that he was called back and consoled by the Buddha.[39]

Ānanda belonged to the royal family and had a good background of common knowledge. He decided to join the Order out of his faith in the Buddha and his teaching. His loyalty towards the Buddha was so great that he always played the role of a faithful disciple. The Buddha himself made the initial suggestion to choose Ānanda as his person-

al attendent. He was much appreciated by the Buddha as diligent and intelligent with the benefit of possessing a good memory. It was mainly due to these qualifications that he was selected to sit in the Council even though he was the only non-Arahant member. The following remark are worth quoting in this connection.

> Monks spoke thus to the venerable Kassapa, the great : "Honour sir, this Ānanda, although he is still a learner, could not be one to follow a wrong course through desire, anger, delusion, fear, and he has mastered much Dhamma and discipline under the Lord...let him be selected. 40

His inclusion in the Council brings sufficient testimony to the fact that his qualities of mind and heart were greatly recognized by not only his fellow-monks but also by the Buddha.[41] Taking the above fact into consideration it seems illogical indeed that he was asked for an explanation and confession of the so-called wrong-doing of admitting women into the Order, or directly or indirectly influencing the Buddha to include women in the Order. The fact remains that Ānanda was himself personally convinced regarding the genuine and legitimate demand of women for their spiritual growth and advancement. Ānanda was also convinced that with the wise and able leadership of Mahāpajāpati, who was capable of providing able guidance to the women who were under her charge. Besides if his effort for the admission of the Bhikkhunī Sangha had to be con-

fessed as an offence, the Buddha would not have allowed it. He, in fact praised Ānanda in front of the Sangha :

> He is a wise man, brethren, is Ānanda. He knows when it is the right time to come and visit the Tathāgata, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the Order, for devote men and women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, and for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the Tathāgata. 42

There is also the possibility of personal conflict between Kassapa and Ānanda. Before the Mahāparinibbāna, though Ānanda had not yet attained Arahantship, he was reported to make frequent visit to the Bhikkhunī Sangha to give them discourse and instruction on Dhamma.[43] He was also a popular preacher among lay-people.[44]

There was one occasion when Kassapa called Ānanda "boy". Thullananda bhikkhunī heard of this incident and showed great annoyance, she says, "How dare Mahā Kassapa, who was once a heretic teacher, chide the Sage Ānanda calling him "boy"? Ānanda had to apologize to Kassapa on her behalf.[45]

Another incident was recorded when Ānanda invited Mahā Kassapa to preach to the bhikkhunīs. Thullatissa bhikkhunī raised an objection saying, "How does Kassapa think it fit to preach the doctrine in front of the learned sage Ānanda?" Again Ānanda appeased him by acknowledging that Kassapa was superior to him in all respect.[46]

Such incidents might possibly imply that not only

the Bhikkhunī Sangha had high regard and appreciation for Ānanda but that they also, on the other hand, played down the importance of Mahā Kassapa. The offence raised against Ānanda at the Council might be the direct result of a desire on the part of Mahā Kassapa to combat the general attitude of the majority, which was very much directed towards Ānanda. The seriousness of the offences charged against Ānanda should be taken with these precautions in mind.

In the light of the above discussion it is distinctly clear that Ānanda's recommendation for women's admission to the Order and the acceptance of it by the Buddha were quite in confirmation with the glorious personality and character that he possessed. The major supporters of the Sangha were primarily women and in regard to the Buddhistic teaching, Ānanda found no scope for any sort of distinction or discrimination between different castes or sexes. Therefore, it may be appropriately held that the role of Ānanda in admitting women to the Order and helping the growth of Buddhism was tremendous.

To sum up, Buddhism constituted a revolutionary movement by establishing an independent and well organized Order for the realization of potential divinity inherently present in women and not exclusively in men. The greatest contribution of Buddhism as a world religion lies in the fact that it raises itself above petty barriers of nation,

caste, sex or colour. The first and formost criterion for the seeker of the Truth was his or her qualification and whole-hearted dedication to the actualization of Truth. The Buddhistic teaching not only served the cause of spiritualism for every human being but it also went deep into the other subtlities of life, and brought out an exceptable solution to them. In addition to keeping the banner of spiritualism high it did not lose sight of the practical problem with which people were confronted. It avoided metaphysical questions which are morally useless and logically inconsistent, and placed the entire emphasis on Dhamma and Vinaya.

The Buddha's reluctance, caused by deep and careful thinking, does not show any sort of contempt for or association of inferiority with the nature of womankind but simply points out his alertness to certain problems which existed in his time partly due to the influence of the tradition and partly to some currents of thought brought into the picture by the contemporary schools. The formation of Eight great rules for the bhikkhunīs is of the deepest significance, several other rules connected with other critical situations coming into force in subsequent time. Life in the Order, in its broader perspectives, was governed by reasonable regularity, high thinking and simple living. Not all who entered the Order were made saintly; some of them

were still ordinary men and women having their own problem to consider. In the Vinaya, and especially the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga, some of these instances are referred to. There were many occasions when rules were evaded, many times squabbles over trifles existed and several other evils like slacknesses, greediness, ingratitude and unapproved manners took place. But, at the same time, we see glorious examples of some of the bhikkhunīs who showed their fullest obligations towards the system in its preservation and inculcation of bright traditions and cultural patterns.

It must be noted here that the emergence of this movement did not take place from without but also from within. On the one hand, it was created due to the tremendous religious need brought forth by the exigencies of time and on the other, the willingness of women to live and experience a state of spiritual calmness and tranquility. Therefore, the situation of the bhikkhunīs was improved, by laying down rules to curb the possible disruptive tendencies of women. It must be remembered here that these rules were formulated to check the unruly and not for virtuous women who were alive to the responsibilities tacitly placed in them.

The formation of the Bhikkhunī Sangha might also be one of the elements ~~that made Buddhism~~ flourish far and wide. This flourishing occured because the Buddha accepted

the equality of all men and women both in the achieving of spiritual goals and participation in monastic life. The Buddha admitted and allowed women to have a part in his religious organization, and in return they offered tremendous support from various economic levels and social standards; Viśākha and the courtesan, Āmbapāli have stood out as the classical examples.

IV

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BHIKKHUNĪ PĀTIMOKKHA

In the discussion of the previous chapter we have seen that Buddhism departs wholly from the Upanisadic way of life in regard to the way of achieving spiritual attainment. It insists that every seeker of truth eschew worldly life and become a bhikkhu or bhikkhunī, living the religious life in which meditation is the essence, and practising austerity.[1] The Buddha was himself the embodiment of his teaching. The consistency between speech and action was perfectly manifested in his person, and this served as a pattern for the spiritual efforts of his disciples. On the success of his teaching, the Buddha gained a great number of followers, first men and later on women.

Both hostile and friendly parties are noteably agreed that the Buddha was the first person to found a monastic order. Max Muller pointed out, "that moral code, taken by itself, is one of the most perfect which the world has ever known."[2] Wanderers and recluses were prevalent during the Buddha's time, and it has been recorded that there were at least six famous leading ascetics of that

period, namely Purāna Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Nigantha Nātaputta,[3] Sanjaya Belatthiputta,[4] Pakudha Kaccayāna and Ajita Kesakambalin.[5] Some of them had a great number of followers but they did not have a proper or an organised form of discipleship. We also observe another significant point, that his monastic Order has marvellously survived for more than 2,500 years. He established a religious Order which has continued to the present day as one of the oldest and most influential order of religious brethren in the world.[6] It is also surprising to note how these rules are still being kept very close to the original form without much transformation. This is especially true in Theravadin countries particularly Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. In Thailand, for example, the eight necessary requirements[7] for a bhikkhu at the time of ordination are still those prescribed in Vinaya, even though some of them are no longer necessary.[8] Thus, it will be indeed useful to try to bring out some additional light regarding the monastic rules of the Sangha, especially those of the bhikkhunis which are wide open for further study.

Historians and scholars of the Buddhistic studies generally agree that Vinaya Pitaka is the oldest part of the Tripitaka. The study of the Bhikkhu Vinaya has been carried out by many scholars, some of whom have rendered a great contribution to the study of the Buddhist Sangha

and Buddhism as a whole in the early period.[9] Vinaya or the monastic rules is the basic ground which all the Buddhist bhikkhus have taken upon themselves in common, it is the instrument which keeps them in unity. Vinaya became even more important to Buddhism after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, mainly due to the fact that the Buddha did not appoint any particular individual as the chosen successor or leader of the Sangha. Monier Williams gave the rather biased picture that no successor was ready to take his place,[10] but in fact, the Buddha made it clear that he did not want to appoint any successor.[11] The Buddhist community has never been organized around a central authority which could decree doctrines or practices which must be observed by all followers. Under such circumstances it would have really been difficult and almost impossible to think of the harmonious Sangha, had there been no Vinaya as the basic foundation.

In Vinaya Pitaka, Pātimokkha has been accepted as one of the oldest texts in the Buddhist canon.[12] Pātimokkha is the list of rules, or courses of training to be observed by the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs. It is restrictive whereas Vinaya is constructive. The study of Pātimokkha, in this dissertation the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, which is a part of Vinaya, is necessary as it proves to be one of the ways to understand the historical growth of the Sangha. The early

Sangha is the embodiment of the teaching of the Buddha, and the growth of Buddhism lay within it. If one wants to understand Buddhism, one must study the development of the Buddhist Sangha in the early period. The best way to trace this development is to take up the study of Pātimokkha which is the power underlying the unity of the Sangha. Eliot also recognized this fact when he says, "It is chiefly to this institute (Sangha) that the permanence of his (Buddha's) religion is due."[13]

As far as the study of Vinaya is concerned we notice the distinctive fact that the Buddha was always very democratic in his approach at solving a problem or setting down rules. This may be due to the background in which he was brought up, that is, his clan had a democratic type of administration.[14] The Buddha never condemned an accused person without hearing the person concerned first. He dealt with the problem only when he was properly informed. He was also liberal to a certain extent, as we see in some of the rules in which he allowed the person involved to be admonished up to the third time. He allowed the bhikkhus to settle certain disputes by a vote of the majority.[15] Another point to be mentioned is that the Buddha is not a legalist as some of the westerners[16] seem to think of him, simply by glancing at the number of monastic rules which are supposed to be attributed to him.[17] As we have read widely

on the Buddha's life and career, he did not set out the great number of rules at the very outset. In the beginning they followed the simple rules of ascetics chosen and taken from what had already been prevalent and practised among the ascetic wanderers of that time.[18] It should be born in mind that the Buddha was born an Indian, and although Buddhism is different from Brahmanism nevertheless its historical growth presupposes Brahmanism. These few rules usually practised by the ascetics of that time were non-killing, (ahimsa), chastity, abstention from all luxurious ways of life and the leading of the life of an ascetic with the least possible number of requirements.[19]

The rules that the Buddha set for his early group of disciples to practise were moderate[20] and consonent with his teaching of the "Middle Path". He prescribed three pieces of robe (tri-civara) which sufficiently answered physical requirements, whereas the Jains and some other groups of wanderers went to the extreme of asceticism in renouncing everything and went about completely naked. The Buddha was also aware of the fact that one should be an ascetic within the limit of decency, thus he refused to eat or receive food from the hands, instead he prescribed begging bowls for his followers.[21] In short, the rules are meant to keep the Sangha in a moderate way of living yet prevent them from living in luxury which is the door to

attachment and the clinging on to material comfort.

The number of rules grew in answer to need. Different rules were made as circumstances required. It is rather superficial to accept the idea that the Buddha did not lay down all the rules at once because he was afraid that laymen might refrain from joining the Sangha, seeing that there were numerous rules to be observed.[22] Pātimokkha grew as new rules were made and added, and new allowances altered the application of older rules.[23] It is a natural phenomenon in human society that when large bodies of men live together in the same community, certain rules are needed to overcome the individual differences, direct them towards the same goal and keep them in unity. This was also true for the Buddhist Sangha, and as it grew into a large number, rules become necessary. The bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs were from different sociological and geographical backgrounds, hence in order for them to live harmoniously, the common rules were needed to discipline their actions and guide their thoughts for the further development of spiritual advancement.

There has been a point of controversy regarding Vibhanga (the explanation on the monastic rules). T.W.Rhys Davids seems to think that the events given in Vibhanga are inventions written afterward to explain the rules,[24] whereas Horner suggested that they were not necessarily

inventions, and that the rules might actually have the factual references as recorded in Vibhanga.

Going through both the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Vibhanga, there is one element, which appears to be part of the formal structure, which might suggest that they were invented, namely, the accused person never denied even the most serious case.[25] The formal acceptance found throughout Vibhanga is "It is so, Lord." Even notorious bhikkhunī like Thullananda, who had a bad reputation and caused many rules to be laid down, whenever she was asked to answer for a mistake, she always accepted by using the same formula quoted above. We must keep in mind that to tell a lie is only an offence against Pācittiya,[26] the fifth section of Pātimokkha, and hence considered to be a minor offence, whereas some of the mistakes she committed were actually against Parājika,[27] the severest type of offence against monastic life.

But this point can also be interpreted differently, as it might also be true that the members of the Sangha in the early days were very strict about keeping in line with the truth, and telling a lie was not often practised.Besides telling a lie would double the offence. Also it must be remembered that some of the so-called mistakes were done unintentionally or unknowingly of the consequences.

The study of the life of the Buddha, as pointed

out earlier, shows that he did not set out to be a legalist, thus, it would not be logical to accept only the rules and refuse the factual references from which the rules were formed. Some of the rules are so obvious that they point out the historical originality. For example, a part of Sanghadisesa 3 :

> If a bhikkhunī goes to the other side of the river alone, she commits the offence against the rule.[28]

The Buddha set down such rule because it was reported to him that a bhikkhunī, on crossing the river alone, was seduced by the boat man. The rule by itself sounds absurd to our mind, but it is brought to light and made intelligible as soon as we study the Vibhanga which gives the story of how the rule was formed. On the other hand, it cannot be admitted in totality that all the stories in Vibhanga are factual, eventhough it will not be justified to say that all of them are invention. Winternitz gives his opinion, "In a few cases these stories may possibly have reference to actual events. In the majority of cases, however they were probably invented ad hoc."[29] Horner however thinks that, "Each rule is very possibly the direct result of some actual event, and was not made with merely hypothetical cases of wrong-doing in mind."[30] Many other scholars have already discussed but no one has been able to give any final authentic conclusion.

This particular chapter, which is the main concern

of the thesis, concentrates on the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, which is a part of Pātimokkha, and thus also supposed to be the oldest part of the Buddhist canon. Pātimokkha is the binding force of the Sangha, it is the basic element which the Sangha holds in common. The study of Pātimokkha of different schools becomes important as it proves to be a clue, reaffirming that Patimokkha was already in existence before Buddhism sufferred the split into various schools. It also reflects upon the development of the Sangha as a whole, and consequently the growth of Buddhism itself.

The comparative study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha is taken from six different schools of Buddhism, namely, Theravāda (Skt.Sthavīra), Dharmagupta, Mahiśāsaka, Mahāsanghika, Sarvāstivāda and Mula-Sarvāstivāda.[31] Officially there are eighteen schools, but Vinaya texts are available only in these mentioned schools. The material used in this chapter are from various available sources. For Theravāda, the material are from Pali, English and Thai sources. For Dharmagupta, the materials are from English, Thai and Chinese. For the rest the materials are from Chinese sources.

In the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, there are seven main sections,[32] from which only the first three sections have been chosen for comparative study. They are more important groups of offences considering the nature and degree of seriousness. Also it is not possible to take up the compa-

rative study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha as a whole as this would require more time and materials than are presently available to the writer. Such a study would be more appropriately done in a doctoral programme, as there is large area of material to deal with. Nevertheless this does not minimise the study at the present stage, as all the major rules will be included and judgement can be appropriately made from the analysis and evaluation.

Again, as pointed out earlier, a few scholars have already done research work on the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha and the comparative study on them. The Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, a study of which has not been made, is based primarily on the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha.[33] To avoid repetition, those rules which are common to both the Sanghas shall be slightly dealt with only when they happen to be relevent. The discussion is primarily only on the rules which are typically meant for bhikkhunīs. Thus, there are four Parājikas, ten Sanghadisesas, and twelve Nissaggiya Pācittiyas to discuss at hand.

Another point which needs mentioning is the fact that the number of the rules in one school may appear to vary from the number in others but the content usually remain virtually the same. For instance; there are seventeen Sanghadisesas in most of the schools, but Mula-Sarvāstivāda has twenty rules. Examining the rules in detail, it is found that Sanghadisesa 3 in most of the schools is :

> Whatever nun should go among villages alone, or should go to the other side of a river alone, or should be away for a night alone, or should stay behind a group alone, that nun also has fallen into a matter that is an offence at once ...[34]

Mula-Sarvāstivāda has divided this into four separate rules; 1.goes in the village alone, 2. goes on the other side of the river alone, 3. spends the night alone, and 4. stays behind the group alone,[35] thus resulting in the different number of rules.

Before taking up the discussion on each of the sections of Pātimokkha, it would be appropriate to give a summary discussion on the term Pātimokkha. Many scholars have given their ideas and explanations in regard to the possible meaning of the word Pātimokkha. Buddhaghośa derives it from muc in the sense of freeing from the punishments of hell and other painful births.[36] Rhys Davids follows Buddhaghośa's explanation, asserting that pātimokkha means "disburdening, getting free".[37] But pātimuncāti is not pāmuncati and denotes exactly the reverse, viz. "to put on, fasten, bind". Kern reaffirms that it never has another meaning in Pali nor in older Sanskrit.[38] E.J.Thomas also explains that pātimokkha is from pāti-muc, thus should mean "that which binds, obligatory."[39] Pātimokkha is rendered as "binding, obligation" from pātimuncāti, to fasten, to bind.[40] This explanation is preferable to others not only because it is more correct grammatically but also because it fits into

the actual meaning applying to Pātimokkha rules. A good bhikkhu is "controlled by the restraints imposed by the Pātimokkha".[41]

Pātimokkha is not a Buddhistic term, as it was already in existence in pre-Buddhist days.[42] Scholars and authorities on Buddhistic study are not sure if the rules were drawn up in their entirety during the Buddha's life time.[43] But the accusation put against Ānanda during the first Council for not asking the Buddha about the minor rules[44] the final suggestion of Mahā Kassapa that it would be wise to keep all of them, points out that all the rules drawn up in entirety in the first Council were those which already prevailed during the Buddha's life time. This presupposes originality deriving from the Buddha or from the elders but with the acknowledgement of the Buddha. Phra Sāsana Sobhana pointed out that bhikkhus of olden days had excellent memory, and "the invented" rules would not have passed the community unnoticed.[45] Also the fact that all recensions of Bhikkhu Pātimokkha are similar, the slight differences occurring only in Sekhiya (Skt.Saikṣa) rules,[46] these being minor rules regarding the manner of eating, walking, sitting, etc. It would be safe to hold that the majority of Pātimokkha already existed during the Buddha's time, except a few additional rules in the Sekhiya section which does not effect the major character of the rules as a whole.

The point concerning how the rules were formed and the historical authenticity of the events given in Vibhanga has already been discussed. We now proceed on to the recitation of Pātimokkha. It is the custom of bhikkhus who live in different rural areas to assemble on the sacred days of the Uposatha[47] and to have the Pātimokkha recited in the assembly. This is meant to impress upon the bhikkhus (and bhikkhunīs) their obligations and responsibilities and to keep their moral and mental solitarity unimpared.[48] It is at the same time a formulary of confession.[49] If there has been a transgression by any of the members, it will be confessed and the offender dealt with according to the prescribed rules. The religious significance in reciting Patimokkha in the assembly of the Order does not lie only in reaffirming the unity among the brethren but also in the confession. A bhikkhu who confesses his transgression to the elder (or elders) not only realizes his wrong doing and accepts it, he also repents for what he has done and becomes more alert not to commit the same mistake again. Confession becomes a reminder to help a person to stride forward only in a rightful path.

The recitation of Pātimokkha is restricted to the members of the Bhikkhu Sangha.[50] There are three different explanations given, first; because it is the traditional custom of previous Buddhas, second; out of respect for

Dhamma, and third; out of respect for the position of a member of the Order.[51] The restriction might also be due to the fact that should the laity be allowed to attend the recitation the confession may not be successful. A bhikkhu is a person respected by the laity, and if the confession were made known to the latter, they might lose respect in the bhikkhu and finally weaken the support of the Sangha. In the beginning a bhikkhu recited Pātimokkha for the Bhikkhunī Sangha, but after objection raised by the laity the bhikkhunīs had to learn Pātimokkha from the bhikkhus and recite it for themselves.[52]

In regard to the grouping and the arrangement of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, the material surrounding each rule is planned on exactly same formation as the bhikkhus'. There are Parājikas (Skt.Parājikas, cases of defeat), Sanghadisesas (Skt.Samghavasesas, cases entailing initial and subsequent meetings of the community), Nissaggiya Pācittiyas (Skt.Nihsargika Pātayantikas, cases entailing expiation with forfeiture), Pācittiyas (Skt.Patayantika, cases entailing expiation), Padidesaniyas (Skt.Pratidesaniyas, cases that must be confessed), Sekhiyas (Skt. Śaiksa, cases of settlement of litigation). Note that the bhikkhunīs have no Aniyatas or undetermined offences, the importance and implication of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

When reading through the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga, the arrangement appears to be confussion at the first glance. Parājikas for bhikkhunīs are eight in total but only four are given in the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga.[53] It should be understood that the four Parājikas given in Vibhanga are solely for bhikkhunīs in addition to the four primarily applicable to the bhikkhus. The same explanation is also valid for the following sections.

In this dissertation, the comparative study will be only on the first three sections of the Pātimokkha. They are Parājikas, Sanghadisesas, and Nissaggiya Pācittiyas, the importance of which is sufficient to determine the course of investigation. Before discussing each section in detail, it would be appropriate to give a brief picture of the number of Pātimokkha rules of the different schools in the three sections to be discussed here.

	Par.	Sgd.	Niss.P.
Theravāda	8	17	30
Dharmagupta	8	17	30
Mahiśāsaka	8	17	30
Mahāsanghika	8	19	30
Sarvāstivāda	8	17	30
Mula-Sarvāstivāda	8	20	33

As pointed out earlier the number of rules may be different but the content is virtually the same.

The first section of the rules taken for discussion is Parājika. The term "Parājika" is rendered as "defeat" by Rhys Davids and Oldenburg who followed the explanation of Buddhaghośa.[54] The root of the word is still a point of controversy. In Chinese the word is translated as wu-yu, "without remainder" meaning "complete expulsion".[55]

Burnouf and Childers[56] suggest that parājika is derived from parā + aj, which means a crime which involves the expulsion or exclusion of the guilty party. This might be better explanation grammatically, but Horner points out that the root aj is not known in Pali.[57] The editors of Vinaya Texts refer to the word as "the passive of ji (to defeat) with parā prefixed".[58] Though grammatically not very sound, nevertheless it is more convincing than any other translation, mainly because the meaning of the word used has become traditional. S.Levi pointed out that it might be the same word as the Jain paramciya in the sense of being (permanently) excluded.[59] At any rate parājika deals primarily with defeat and not expulsion. Also in Sutta Vibhanga the verb nāsati is used to mean "to be expelled".[60]

Parājikas were framed to govern those offences, the most serious of all, which involve "defeat" and whose penalty is expulsion from the Order.[61] One who can commit the gravest offence proves that his mental disposition is

not made for religious inclination. He is still heavily bound with kileśa (external attachment). Perpetual expulsion from the community becomes necessary in order to maintain the purity of the Sangha. The first four Parājikas have been taken directly from the bhikkhus' which are levelled against the breach of a code of morality generally recognized and active among all civilised communities. Briefly these four rules are against:

1. Sexual relation, even with male animals
2. Stealing, taking others' Property
3. Depriving of life, directly or indirectly
4. Boasting of supernatural power not possessed.[62]

The next four additional Parājikas which are solely mean for the bhikkhunīs are as follows; the rules are listed according to the Pali Vibhanga.

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
-Touching the male's body or being touched from the collar bones down to the knee bones.	5	5	5	5	5	5
-Hiding another bhikkhuni's defeat.	6	7	7	7	7	7
-Imitating a suspended bhikkhu and being persistent even after the third admonition.	7	8	8	8	8	8
-Being filled with desire for a man, touching his robe, entering into a covered place with him, etc.	8	6	6	6	6	6[63]

The rules of all six schools agree in content, but the arrangement differs in the three last rules. Notice the difference in conformity of the five other schools and the Theravāda. This may point to different original manuscripts: the Theravāda follows the Pali Manuscripts whereas the other five schools follow the Sanskrit Manuscripts. This is merely a suggestion which still needs further analysis and investigation.

The second group of rules is Sanghadisesa. Again the meaning of Sanghadisesa is controversial, and renowned scholars have given various interpretations and explanations. The word which every scholar agrees on is Sangha or the Order. We can derive support from the Old Commentary on this point. "It is the Order which places (the wrong-doer) on probation, it sends him (or her) back to the beginning it inflicts the manatta,[64] it rehabilitates".[65] Rhys Davids and Oldenburg also pointed out that this type of punishment "had to be enforced, could only be enforced, by formal resolution carried at meetings of the Order."[66] Thus, Sanghadisesas are the rules which require Sangha-kamma (a meeting of the Order) in the beginning (adi) to pass a judgement of expulsion and at the end (sesa) for pronouncing the rehabitation.[67] In some of the Sanskrit texts the word occurs in the form Samghavaśesa, Sanghadisesa would thus be an old Maghadi form of Sanghavaśesa a later Sanskrit

rendering of the original Sanghadisesa.[68] If the bhikkhu becomes guilty of one or another of these offences, for as many days as he conceals it, so many days must he, even though unwilling, be compelled to dwell apart. When the bhikkhu has passed this period of probation (parivāsa),[69] he must still for another six nights undergo the manatta practice towards the other bhikkhus. When his period of manatta is over, the bhikkhu is to be restored in a place where the number of the Order must not be less than twenty.

The significance of the temporary expulsion of the guilty bhikkhu is that it gives him time to be alone by himself, during which he should examine his wrong action, realizing its evil and harmful result to himself as an individual and to the Sangha as a community to which he belongs. It is the time for him to cultivate strong determination and strenous effort for the further development of the spiritual goal.

There are thirteen Sanghadisesas for the bhikkhus and seventeen for the bhikkhunīs (in the Pali sources), seven of which are in common with the bhikkhus': they are the bhikkhus' Sàṅghadisesas 5,8,9,10,12,13.[70] The first nine rules must be confessed after the first commitment, the following eight rules must be confessed after three admonitions.[71] After completing manatta, a bhikkhunī must be officially pronounced as restored in order to be taken

back into the Sangha.

The seven Sanghadisesas which are in common with the bhikkhus' are in brief as follows :

- Acting as a go-between
- Placing a baseless charge of Parājika against another bhikkhunī
- Enlarging a minor offence of another bhikkhunī into Parājika
- Creating schism, and persisting after the third admonition
- Helping others to creat schism
- Being difficult to admonish, rebelling against the elders
- Corrupting the family of the laity.[72]

The ten Sanghadisesas which are exclusively meant for the bhikkhunīs are listed below according to the Pali Bhikkhunī Vibhanga.

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
-Speaking in envy concerning a householder or even recluses.	1	x	x	4	7	x
-Knowingly ordaining a woman with a criminal record.	2	5	5	7	8	10
-Going among the villages, going to the other side of the river, staying behind the group alone.	3	7	7	5 6 9	6	6 7 8 9
-Restoring a bhikkhunī suspended for a complete Order without obtaining persission from the Order.	4	6	4	x	9	12

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
- Being filled with desire having accepted food from the man's hand.	6	8	4	11	4	4
- Persuading others to accept food from the man's hand.	7	9	5	12	5	5
- Repudiating the Three Jewels and threatening to leave the Order. Being persistent after the third admonition.	14	x	/	19	14	13
- Being angry and argumentative and rebuking the Sangha even after the third admonition.	15	17	/	16	15	14
- Living in bad company, concealing each other's offence even after the third admonition.	16	15	/	17	16	15
- Encouraging others to live in bad company and persisting after the third admonition.	17	x	/	18	17	x *

The ten Sanghadisesas listed on the left have been taken from the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga and are the rules additional to those in common with the bhikkhus'. The numbers of the rules given on the right are not systematic simply because those missing are already listed in the Bhikkhu Vibhanga.

---

* The different marks signify :
x a different rules exists
/ a number is not given, such a rule exists.

Three rules marked x, above in Dharmagupta which are different from the rest are :

4. Going on personal business under an assumed identity.
12. Going to villages, and the lay-people's houses, getting ill-name.
16. Being talkative, making a mountain out of mole-hill.

All the rest agree to a certain degree in content. The only rule that seems to be problematic is the first one, which cannot be found in Mahiśāsaka, Mula-Sarvāstivāda and Dharmagupta, which replace it with something else.

The Bhikkhunī Vibhanga says that a certain lay-follower gave a store-room to the Order of bhikkhunīs. After his death, argument arose between his two sons, one of whom belonged to a different faith. Thullananda bhikkhunī put forward a claim for this storeroom and the case was settled by the chief Minister. But the people murmured against her for raising the case against the lay man, claiming on behalf of the other. Thus the Buddha was reported to have set down the rule :

> Whatever nun should be one who speaks in envy concerning a householder or a householder's sons or a slave or a workman and even concerning a wanderer who is a recluse, that nun has fallen into a matter that is an offence at once, entailing a formal meeting of the Order involving being sent away. 73

Mula-Sarvāstivāda replaced this rule with " A bhikkhunī, holding contract and demanding things on behalf of the

deceased."[74] If each rule is taken separately, it appears to be entirely different. But the historical event given in *Vibhanga* immediately throws light on the point of difference and we see clearly that the rules might have originated from the same event, only the emphasis of the rules on the event is taken from different angles. But the aim of the rules in both schools is made clear that a bhikkhuni should not concern herself about household property or indulge in argument from it.

The rules which appear to be different from each other often can be traced to the same origin. Internally there is not much difference, the external appearence is only very superficial and can be overcome by tracing back to the original historical references.

The third section of *Pātimokkha* is *Nissaggiya Pācittiya*. Horner rendered *Nissaggiya* as an "offence of expiation",[75] *Nissaggiya pācittiya* is an "offence of expiation involving forfeiture". E.J.Thomas points out that this translation depends upon the derivation of *pācittiya* from Sanskrit *Prāyascittika*, but this is not the term used in the Sanskrit version of the *Pātimokkha*, which has *pātayantika* and *pāyantika*. He explains that this is another example of the fact that *Pātimokkha* is so old that the later Buddhists were not sure of the original terms.[76] The forfeiture involved is of that article in respect of which the

offence has been committed, for example, of a robe, bowl, or rug. These rules are concerned both with behaviour as such and with the wrongful acquisition or unsuitable usage of things.

For the bhikkhu who has transgressed Nissaggiya Pācittiya, the forfeiture and confession is to be made to an Order of bhikkhus not less than five. When the article has been forteited and the offence confessed, the offence is to be acknowledged by "an experienced, competent monk".[77] The forfeited article is then to be given back to the bhikkhu who, having acquired it wrongfully, has forfeited it.

It was apparently held that the offence is not considered bad enough to warrent the offender's permanent loss of the object he obtained improperly. The rules were required to prevent the acquiring a store of property.[78] Also to realise that, behind this staturory limiting of possessions, there was the conviction that greed, craving thirst, themselves undesirable, produced further undesirable states of mind. Such is to be avoid by the homeless ones.

There are thirty rules in both the bhikkhus' and the bhikkhunīs' Pātimokkha but only eighteen are in common. In other words, eighteen rules for bhikkhunīs have been taken from the bhikkhus', omitting those which are applicable strictly to the bhikkhus and adding twelve more rules solely for the bhikkhunīs.

At present the discussion will be restricted to the twelve rules exclusively for the bhikkhunīs. Thirteen of the common rules concern robes, and the proper time and manner to obtain them, one, the begging bowl, one, medication, and four business exchanges.

It is suggested later in this chapter that the twelve extra rules for the bhikkhunīs were formed after the completion of the bhikkhus' rules, which may be taken as evidence that the thirty Nissaggiya rules for the bhikkhus were already in existence before the admission of the bhikkhunīs. This would also apply to the first section, namely, the four Parājikas for the bhikkhus. The discussion on chronological order will be taken up in further detail in the later part of this chapter.

These twelve rules are taken from the Pali Bhikkhunī Vibhanga and compared with those of the other five schools below. The numbers given are according to the Pātimokkha order.

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
V1. Hoarding bowls	19	24	/	20	19	20
V2. Distributing an untimely robe.	20	27	/	x	20	22
V3. Asking for the exchanged robe and destroying it afterward.	21	28	/	23	22	x
V4. Having had one thing asked for and then having another thing asked for.	22	19	/	x	x	x

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
V5. Having got one thing in exchange wanting another thing in exchange.	23	x	x	x	x	x
V6. Getting something in exchange for that which was necessary, appointed for another thing, destined for another and belonging to the Order.	24	x	/	x	x	x
V7. Getting something in exchange for that which was necessary, appointed for another thing, destined for another and belonging to the Order, having herself asked for.	25	20	x	12	26	25
V8. Getting someting in exchange for that which was necessary, appointed for another thing, destined for another and belonging to the Order, having herself asked for, and belonging to the company.	26	21	x	x	28	24
V9. Getting something in exchange for that which was necessary, appointed for another thing, destine for another, having herself asked for and belonging to the company.	27	22	x	x	21	27
V10. Getting something in exchange for that which was necessary, appointed for another thing, destined for another and belonging to an individual, having herself asked for.	28	23	x	x	x	x
V11. If a nun is bargaining for a heavy cloth, it must not worth more than four "bronzes" (<u>kimsa</u>) 79	29	29	29	29	29	29

	Th.	Dh.	Mhs.	Msg.	Sar.	M.Sar.
V12. If a nun is bargaining for a light cloth, it must not worth more than two and a half "bronzes".	30	30	30	30	30	30

There are four rules which all schools agree upon, namely Vibhanga 1,3,11,and 12 the originality of which can not be questioned. The last two rules are exactly same in all the schools both in content and listing order. The majority agree on Vibhanga 2 but Mahāsanghika replaces it with "keeping more robes than required". Then there are two rules, Vibhanga 4 and 5 which do not seem to agree with other schools, and ensure that a bhikkhunī should not give trouble to others in the matter of acquiring things for her. Dharmagupta expresses Vibhanga 5 differently, "A bhikkhunī should not persistently ask lay-people to do this and that".[80] Sarvāstivāda replaces this with "begging for second time".[81] Looking into the Pali Vibhanga, the event given in connection with these rules is that Thullananda asked for ghee, and when ghee was brought, she changed her mind and asked for oil instead.[82] The rules given in Dharmagupta and Sarvāstivāda can be related to this event, and they differ only in the way of interpreting and emphasising the significant of the rules.

There are five rules, Vibhanga 6 - 10, which seem to differ greatly in all the schools, but convey more or

or less the same purpose. The idea is that a bhikkhunī should not exchange a thing offered for one purpose for another thing whether it belongs to an individual or the community. This can be easily explained, as the doner would naturally be offended to find what he had offered for one purpose being used otherwise, resulting in resentment and alienated feeling in the lay-people, and the Sangha must be careful, for its existence depends fully on the support of the lay-people.

In other schools, different rules are listed but more or less the same meaning is conveyed. Mula-Sarvāstivāda 26 says "Using the amount saved for an extra robe for food", and 27, "using the amount save for sleeping material for food". Mahāsanghika 26 says "collecting food and exchanging it for a robe", and again 27, "purchasing an already sold object by offering a higher price".[83]

Dharmagupta has a set of four rules, 21,22,23,and 24, which are vague, but which when compared with Theravāda, become clearer and point to the same group of rules of aiming at the same purpose.

Mahāsanghika has a few rules which do not seem to match with those of any other school. They are, "collecting material to make a robe for more than five or six days", and "asking for a robe from a novice as a bribe for ordination". These differences may be due to the fact that the

set of five rules (Vibhanga 6-10) are somewhat ambiguous and if not understood by a school, might be replaced by rules needed in this particular school.

Instead of Vibhanga 5, Sarvāstivāda has "asking an unrelated person to buy a robe with special instructions" but a similarity to Vibhanga 5 can be traced if we consider that both of them aim at not causing the doner to be in any kind of unpleasant situation, so a bhikkhunī should be satisfied with what she receives and should not ask for more than the doner had originally intended.

The mentioned set of five rules are not really clear even in the Theravāda tradition, thus causing various interpretations and replacements. But all the schools agree generally that things donated for one purpose should not be used or exchanged for any other purpose. This agrees with Pachow, who in his study of the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha drew the conclusion that the minor differences that occur in the various Pātimokkha might be explained as due to firstly, the ambiguity of the original meaning, secondly, the different traditional explanations handed down by the schools, thirdly, occasional additions of a local nature, beside the linguistic differences in the writing of the Pātimokkha texts.[84]

Mula-Sarvāstivāda differs from the rest in the number of rules, thirty-three in all. The extra rules are

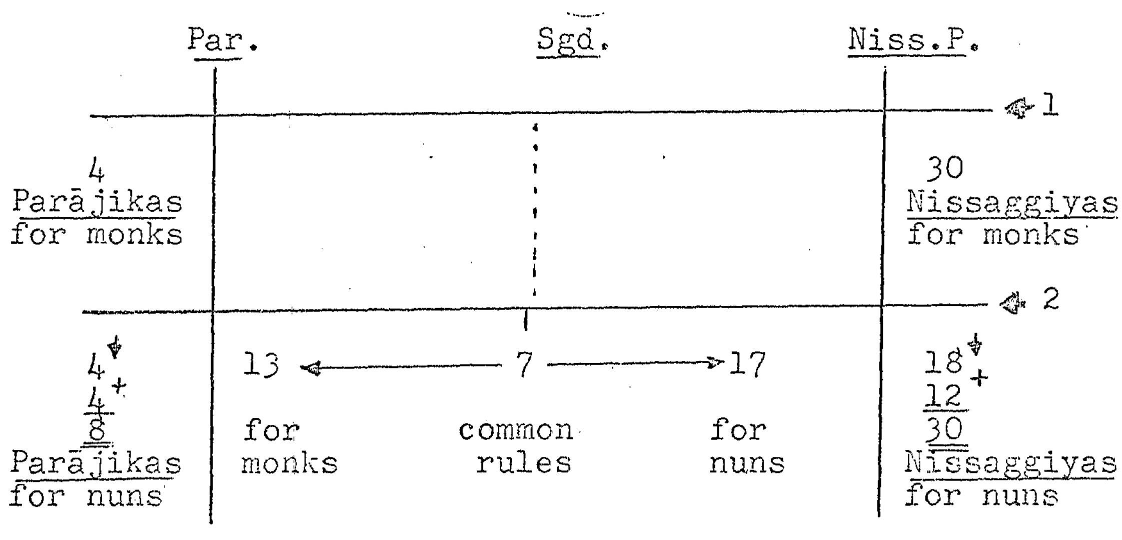
are not difficult to trace. For example, to the common rule taken from the Bhikkhu Vibhanga 6 "Asking for a better robe than the doner intended", Mula-Sarvāstivāda added another rule, "asking an unrelated person to dye her robe"[85] which is clearly an elaboration of the former.

In Vibhanga 2, "distributing an untimely robe" means to distrubute the kāthina robe before the proper time. Mula-Sarvāstivāda added to it, "distributing the kāthina robe after the proper time" and "not wearing five robes wihtin half a month". The basic rules are the same only Mula-Sarvāstivāda elaborates and makes them more complicated, possibly for the purpose of establishing their own identity. This may be taken as an indication of the later collection of the Pātimokkha.

The above study, enables us to draw a few possible conclusions and point out some outstanding facts. First of all, the historical events corresponding to all the rules in the above three sections took place in Savatthi, primarily due to the fact that the Buddha spent a great number of years there, and thus collected a great number of followers, both bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, around him. The Bhikkhunī Sangha must have been considerable large, resulting in the formation of various monastic rules for them. The Sangha prospered and had an easy maintenance mainly due to the support of the famous Anāthapindika setthi who provided

the comfortable Anāthapindikārāma. These facts explain that the Bhikkhunī Sangha prospered externally from the well supported source, internally from the constant exhortation of Dhamma given by the Buddha. Any misconduct or disagreement in the Sangha could be set right in a short period of time because of the close and constant presence of the Buddha.

In regard to the chronological order of the rules in these three sections, attention should be drawn to the way the rules were arranged. In Parājika and Nissaggiya Pācittiya there are a total set of common rules after which follow rules solely for the bhikkhunīs, whereas in Sanghadisesa the common rules are mixed with the individual rules for bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs. This can be seen more clearly in the chart below.



1 Formation of bhikkhus
2 Formation of bhikkhunis

When the Bhikkhunī Sangha was formed, there were already four *Parājikas* for bhikkhus which were also applied to bhikkhunīs, in addition to four *Parājikas* which were formed later and strictly for bhikkhunīs.

Also thirty *Nissaggiya Pācittiyas* for the bhikkhus existed at this time, out of which eighteen are common and were taken to form part of the bhikkhunī *Nissaggiya Pācittiyas*. Later on there were twelve more rules added applicable only to bhikkhunīs.

But in *Sanghadisesa*, the case is different, suggesting there were no *Sanghadisesas* before the formation of bhikkhunīs. *Sanghadisesa* rules for the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs were formed side by side. In the two sections discussed above, the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* starts with the common rules taken from the bhikkhus' rules, but both the bhikkhus' and bhikkhunīs' *Sanghadisesa* start with the rules applicable only to each individual group.[87] There are seven rules in common, listed among the rules for the individual groups. This significant fact might point to the later development of the *Sanghadisesa* rules. It may also point out that the rules of the other two sections were formed chronologically not according to the importance but rather the historical appearances.

Something pointing to the same idea has already been observed by Horner, "that bhikkhus' *Sanghadisesa* 8

and 9 speak of a 'legal question', 10 and 11 of a schism, both of which, in order to come into being, needed a certain amount of time to elapse after the inception of the Order. *Sanghadisesa* 13, without our looking further than the length at which its 'rule' is stated, suggests comparative lateness in formulation".[88]

From the evidences shown above, it is possible to point out that *Sanghadisesa* rules came into existence later than *Parājikas* and *Nissaggiyas*, probably after the formation of the bhikkhunīs.

As far as the present study is concerned, it can not be taken for certain as to which school carries the oldest form of *Pātimokkha*, though Kern claims that, "the Pali version is unquestionably the oldest and, accordingly, the shortest".[89] It would be safe at this point to assume that there must have been one original source, most likely in oral form, from which all the schools drew their materials.

E.Frauwallner, after studying the *Bhikkhu Vibhanga* came to the conclusion that the complete agreement among the Vinaya texts of six different schools proves, "the existence of a basic text from which the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda, Dharmagupta, Mahiśāsaka, and of the Pali school were derived".[90] It has also been pointed out that if the text existed before the rise of the schools[91] when

sectarianism has not yet made its appearance, then the Sangha enjoyed the unity of monastic rules which governed all of them.

From the distinctive difference in the arrangement of Parājikas, it may be stated that materials drawn from the original common source were recorded in written form in two main branches, namely Pali and Sanskrit. Pali became the text which the Theravāda follows, whereas the other five schools follow the Sanskrit text. Thus, Theravada has an arrangement different from the rest. This is one of the examples which shows that the study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha helps bring out certain information which is not available in the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha. The different form of arrangement is clear in the Bhikkhunī Pārājika but not in the Bhikkhu Parājika.

N.Dutt compared the Pali and Sanskrit texts, and arrived at the same hypothesis. He says that both versions depend upon an older model and make only sporadic variations in the arrangement and the detail of the accounts. However each preserves substantially the same traditions and disciplinary rules.[92]

Mula-Sarvāstivāda follows closely to Sarvāstivāda in both the arrangement of Sanghadisesas and Nissaggiyas except the former is more elaborate. This might lead us to believe that actually Mula-Sarvāstivāda developed their

Pātimokkha from Sarvāstivāda text.

At any rate, major agreement on the rules of the six schools points out that as far as the moral principles and monastic rules are concerned, Buddhistic schools agree with each other in general. The difference is only in minor matters the importance of which does not effect the substantial point of agreement. The Pātimokkha, says Kern, is common to all Buddhists, in different redactions, which however, agree in all essential points.[93] The factors which make the difference among the various Buddhist schools lie mainly in philosophical expositions and arguments, not on the ethical and moral level.

At present there is no Bhikkhunī Sangha in Theravāda countries, but there is no historical evidence in regard to the actual extinction of the bhikkhunīs. In Ceylon, presumably the Bhikkhunī Sangha disappeared around 1,200 B.E. There is no clear evidence, but the inscriptions found granting land for the bhikkhunīs' Viharas come to an end around the period mentioned.[94]

But the Bhikkhunī Sangha can still be found in some countries,e.g.,China,Korea and Vietnam. Chinese bhikkhunīs have their viharas in India and in Singapore. These are usually classified by the Theravādins as the so-called "Mahāyāna" bhikkhunīs, who are looked upon as the 'modified' bhikkhunīs, having nothing to do with Theravāda. It is true,

they are modified externally, namely they wear a different type of robe mainly because of the severely cold climate. The modification became necessary for the survival of the Sangha. Were the Buddha alive he would have granted such reasonable modification. There are many occasions recorded in Vinaya where the Buddha modified the rules and gave extension to the rules already existing for the well-being of the Sangha. Thus, modification within the limit of reason and acceptance of the Sangha should certainly be justified.

Theravādins also reject "Mahāyāna" bhikkhunīs on the question of the authenticity of their ordination lineage. From Arther Waley's translation[95] it is known that in 429 C.E.(972 B.E.) in Liu Sung Capital (Nan-king), the nun Seng-kuo received ordination with only the "Ten precepts", but was reordained in a proper manner by a group of bhikkhunīs who came to China from Ceylon. At that time 300 Chinese nuns were reordained at the Southern Forest Monastery.[96] From this passage it is clear that the bhikkhunīs in China (and later in other eastern countries) received the full ordination (pabbajjā-upasampada) from the Ceylonese bhikkhunīs and therefore they actually carried the same authentic lineage of ordination as the Ceylonese bhikkhunīs in the Theravāda school did.

It might be argue against the ordination of the

300 Chinese bhikkhunīs that in the _Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha_ it is an offence to give full ordination (_upasampada_) every year, or to give full ordination to more than one woman per year (by the same upachaya). But tracing back to the circumstances leading to the establishing of _Pācittiyas_ 82 and 93 in the _Bhikkhunī Vibhanga_ shows that during that time there were too many bhikkhunis. The problem of a shortage of residence was severe, hence one of the simplest means of solving the problem was obviously to limit the in-coming bhikkhunīs. But in China, the case was the opposite, there were no bhikkhunīs. Therefore these two _Pācittiyas_ could have been taken as not binding under such circumstances, especially for the purpose of maintaining the lineage of the Bhikkhunī Sangha.

From this study we are now in a position to argue that the distinction made between "Mahāyāna" and "Hinayāna" or "Theravāda" bhikkhunīs does not carry any profound argument. It has been shown that Buddhism is still a whole unity as far as monastic rules and practices are concerned,so if there are bhikkhunīs in the so-called "Mahāyāna" tradition, then these are, correctly speaking, bhikkhunīs in the Buddhistic tradition. The distinction between the different schools in regard to different philosophical expositions does not effect the monastic position to which they belong.

V

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE BHIKKHUNĪ PĀTIMOKKHA

In the previous chapter, it has already been discussed how the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* of the various Buddhistic schools agree in general, resulting in the unity of the monastic institution. In the present chapter it will be helpful to undertake further analytical study on the person or persons who caused the rules to be formed and the circumstances in which each rule arose, as well as the implication and significance of each rule. This is done in the hope of bringing out a better judgement and understanding of the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha as a monastic institute and of the *Pāṭimokkha* as the underlying strength of the Sangha.

Reading through *Therīgatha* or The *Psalms of the Sisters*,[1] one has the opportunity to glimpse many virtuous and able bhikkhunīs. It is true that mainly they were directed towards practical moral codes of living. But for those who were able and equipped with knowledge and insights, chances were opened to them and placed at their disposal. Some of them became very successful preachers

and achieved the same position as any of the leading bhikkhus. There are at least ten bhikkhunīs who are recorded as being praised by the Buddha for their specialities in various aspects. Mahāpajāpati, the Gotamid, should be mentioned first as the Sister with long standing and experience and also the founder of the Bhikkhunī Sangha.[2]

Dhammadinna Therī stood out among the bhikkhunīs as one who was foremost in wisdom and who had a great ability to preach.[3] Some of the bhikkhunīs recorded in The Psalms of the Sisters were her direct pupils.[4]

Patācarā,[5] with her sad experience in life before joining the Sangha, was equipped with the advantage to show the path of liberation to the women folk who had sufferred the same nature of worldly experience. This gained a great number of women into the Order, who were known as Patācarā's 500.[6] She was also recorded as being praised by the Buddha as foremost in Vinaya.

One has also heard of Bhadda Kapilāni[7] who was foremost in remembering past lives, Bhadda Kundalakesā, foremost in swift intuition,[8] Sukula, foremost in the celestial eye,[9] Sona, foremost in strenous will,[10] Khemā and and Uppalavannā foremost as models among the Sisters[11] and Kisā-Gotami, foremost in wearing rough cloth.[12] Some of these will be discussed again later on. Besides these bhikkhunīs with foremost abilities, the discussion will also

be about some fot the bhikkhunīs who were known to be the culprits within the Sangha, such as Thullananda, Candakāli, etc. This will bring an additional contribution to the study of the Bhikkhunī Sangha and its internal organization and administration.

The fact that only part of the Pātimokkha has been compared in the previous chapter will not be, in any way, a difficulty or shortcoming in the study of the Bhikkhunī Sangha in this chapter. Both the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha from the Pali version have been studied and taken into account as an instrument for analysis and to complete the present study. Therefore recored evidences are available for the discussion, which hopefully will throw some additional light on the subject at hand.

The rules of training for bhikkhunīs claimed to be introduced by the Buddha were founded on ten reasons:

> For the excellence of the Order, for the comfort of the Order; for the restraint of evil-minded nuns; for the ease of well-behaved nuns; for the restraint of cankers belonging here and now; for the combating of cankers belonging to other worlds; for pleasing those who are not (yet) pleased; for increasing (number) of those who are pleased; for establishing what is verily Dhamma; and for following the rules of restraint. 13

These ten reasons in establishing the Pātimokkha rules can easily be summed up into three main groups, namely; a. for the unity of the Sangha, b. for the development of spiritual

attainment, and c. for a good relationship with the lay-people, who in turn support the Sangha. The majority of the rules seems to put more emphasis on the last. This can easily be appreciated, as the Sangha was newly formed and the number of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs was growing rapidly, hence the need for the support and maintaining of the Sangha was great and urgent. Members of the Sangha had to live up to the standard of the lay-people's expectation. The ideal for ascetics of that time was very high, so the problems of comparison and competition were always present. There were many other ascetic groups, some of which led a much more strenous life than the Śākyaputta group. But it is known that the Buddha was never an extremist, that he preferred to maintain the moderate way of living within the limit of rationality and practicality. When Mahāpajāpati asked that bhikkhu and bhikkhunī should pay respect to each other according to seniority of ordination, the Buddha refused, saying :

> ...These followers of other sects, although liable to poor guardianship, will not carry out greeting, standing up for, and proper duties towards women, so how should the Truth-finder allow greeting... and proper duties towards women ? 14

This objection resulted in the rule :

> Monks, one should not carry out greeting, rising up for salutation and proper duties towards women. Whoever should carry out (one of these), there is an offence of wrong-doing. 15

Which points out that as far as the practical level was concerned the Buddha usually conformed to and followed the existing tradition within the limit of rationality and in accordance with his principles.

Also it should be remembered that spirituality, as affirmed by the Buddha is not to be divorced completely from the life of the community. The Sangha has always to come in contact with the people, so the rules regarding the laity become important. The Vinaya Pitaka stresses the personal discipline of bhikkhu and bhikkhunī, that the Sangha must be careful in behaviour and attitude towards the laity. One of the purposes is to establish a well disciplined religious community among the people in order to preach to them the Dhamma. On the other hand the laity is the main source of maintenance of the Sangha; the establishment of a good relationship with them become necessary.

It would be a grave misunderstanding to hold that the rules were formed to prevent evil acts, Many acts are justified and appreciated on the worldly level, e.g., marriage and business, but on the spiritual level, they become hindrances, causing attachment and desire, and thus are prohibited for the members of the Sangha.

The evidences given in Vibhanga show that not only bad bhikkhunīs caused the set up of the rules but also the good and talented ones. For that matter, the Buddha himself

was at least once the cause of the establishing of a rule. When he visited Kapilvatthu and had his son, the seven year old Rāhula ordained as a novice (sāmanēra) by Sārīputta. King Suddhodana was much grieved and asked that in future a young boy should not be ordained without his parents' consent. The Buddha granted and set down the rule for the Sangha to practice.[16] There is also a story of a young bhikkhunī who, having noticed a man with bad intention towards her, left the group of bhikkhunīs with whom she was without informing them. For safety, she went to spend the night with a family. When this incident came to light, a rule was set down against such an act.[17] It is clearly mentioned that the bhikkhunī involved was innocent, and what she did was only to prevent further trouble but as it caused displeasure among the Sangha the act was not approved.

Aniyata, the third section in the Bhikkhu Pātimokkha, which does not exist in the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha, was established because of the "Chief of Almsgivers", Viśākha. Aniyata or the "undetermined" carries only two rules. They prove to be a landmark signifying the important trust given to female disciples.[18] Viśākha is shown expostulating with Udayin for what seemed to her unsuitable behaviour in a bhikkhu. The interesting thing is that both the Aniyata rules, generalised as are all the Pātimokkha courses of training from a particular case, allow the offence of a

monk "to be dealt with" as either one involving defeat, or one entailing a formal meeting of the Order, or one involving expiation, according to what a trustworthy woman lay-follower should say.[19] Thus, Viśākha, herself eminently trustworthy and singleminded in her efforts to improve conditions in the Order and creat faith in the other peoples' minds, was instrumental in bringing to all reliable women lay-followers the responsibility of procuring investigation into a monk's conduct.[20] It should also be remembered that she was married to Migara's son whose family were previously followers of the Naked ascetics.[21] Thus, it was important for her to see that the bhikkhus, followers of the Buddha, in whom she had faith, should behave in an appropriate manner, not causing any objection to be raised among the unbelievers.

These two Aniyata rules indicate the respect and deference that was, at that time, paid to women. They were not scornfully brushed aside as idle gossips, and frivolous chatter-boxes, but their words were taken seriously.[22] It is interesting to note in reference to this point that Gurudhamma 7 and 8 prevent bhikkhunīs from admonishing, abusing or reviling bhikkhus, also in Cullavagga bhikkhunīs are not to point out any mistake committed by bhikkhus,[23] whereas Viśākha, as a laywoman had more privilege to admonish the bhikkhu directly, only when she failed in her sincere

effort, the matter was brought to the notice of the Bhikkhu Sangha.

Viśākha was well respected, her words and analytical capability was trusted by the Sangha. When Kumāra-Kassapa Thera's mother joined the Order, she had already conceived but did not realize it. She was expelled by Devadatta but her case was again brought to the attention of the Buddha. Upāli was entrusted with the case, and had it fully investigated by Viśākha and other residents of Savatthi by the approval of the Buddha. The case was clarified and that bhikkhunī was found guiltless.[24]

When we turn to examine the role of those bhikkhunīs who often caused disturbances and complaints within the Sangha, three names are most often mentioned, they are Thullananda, Candakāli, and Sundarīnanda. Thullananda was notorious chiefly in her greediness. In Bhikkhunī Vibhanga, Sanghadisesa 2, Thullananda received a woman with a criminal record in return for a valuable gift.[25] In Nissaggiya Pācittiya, out of twelve rules exclusively for bhikkhunīs, seven were attributed to Thullananda as the cause. Some of these are Nissaggiya Pācittiya 21, asking the exchanged robe, Nissaggiya Pācittiya 22,23, having one thing asked for and again asking for another, Nissaggiya Pācittiya 29 and 30, asking for an expensive robe not fit for a bhikkhunī.[26] There are still many more minor

rules attributed to her doings.[27] Thullananda was not only greedy but also full of jealousy as seen in Pācittiya 35, she was jealous of Bhadda Kapilāni, a learned bhikkhunī who had many pupils and lay-followers. Thullananda promised to provide a resting quarter for her but later on drove her out.[28]

On the other hand, she was not an ordinary trouble maker. She was "very learned, she was a repeater, she was wise, she was skilled in giving Dhamma-talk."[29] She was able to rouse and gladden King Pasenadi of Kosala with Dhamma-talk so that he offerred her the chance to make a request of him, to which she asked for the robe which he was wearing. People murmured against her, resulting in the forming of Nissaggiya Pācittiya 11.[30] Despite her shortcomings, she was able to attract a number of followers, and some of them were her regular supporters.[31] She also had number of pupils who she admonished and gave guidance.[32] She was popular among the lay-people; when they noticed that her cell was falling apart, they collected material and money to build her a new one.[33] The fact that even the king went to listen to her discourse on Dhamma and was pleased with it proves beyond doubt that she must have been a good preacher and well-versed in Dhamma.

Thullananda is a good example of a woman who left the household life only externally, inside she still clung

to material gain and comfort. She learned and remembered the words of Dhamma, but did not practice it, she never let Dhamma touch her inner self. Dhamma was on her lips but not in her heart. She was in the Sangha yet not of it. At this point it would be appropriate to reflect on the last words the Buddha gave to the Sangha ;

> It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, "the word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more". But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The Truths (Dhamma) and the rules (Vinaya) of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you. 34

Here the emphasis is on the good balance of Dhamma and Vinaya, these two aspectsof wisdom and practice must accompany each other in religious practice. If one is well-versed in Dhamma without practicing and following the discipline in Vinaya, that learning becomes useless and one cannot help oneself to overcome suffering and attain salvation. On the other hand, if one practices according to Vinaya without having Dhamma as a guide line one tends to be following a blind route. Thullananda is an example of the former type. Apparently she never attained any spiritual development as far as the evidences and records could supply. It significantly shows that philosophical or religious doctrine, however good it may appear to be, must be able to render itself to serve the practical purpose otherwise it will remain only as a highsounding dogma.

Looking back to her household life, it has been recorded that there were four sisters: Thullananda, Nandāvati, Nanda and Sundarīnanda. All of them were married to a common husband, a brahmin, after whose death they all left the worldly life and joined the Order.[35] It was a group decision, out of the immediate grief over the lost of their husband. Their sincerity to pursue and strive through the hardship of ascetic life to achieve the ultimate goal was very doubtful. It was more of a psychological reaction to the immediate problem they had to face, to avoid which they decided to change their way of living altogether. But they found that ascetic life was not all that pleasant, and their yearning for worldly comfort and enjoyment were soon displayed.

Sundarīnanda, the younger sister who was young, beautiful, charming, clever, experienced, skilled and energetic and able to make arrangements, was selected to undertake ther building of a place for the Bhikkhunī Sangha. Out of frequent meetings with Salha, Migara's grandson, she came to have physical contact with him. Thus caused the first Parājika to be laid down for bhikkhunīs.[36] Sundarīnanda could not enjoy the life of a bhikkhunī very long, for the next Parājika recorded that she was pregnant and had to leave the Order when she could no longer conceal it.[37] She was overwhelmed by the lustful urge for

sensual pleasure. She was still enjoying the worldly life, but joined the Order simply to follow her sisters and be in their company. She did not realize the value of ascetic life, and spiritual enlightenment was not her goal, thus she yielded to the temptation which she had made no effort to avoid.

The religious significance in her case is the fact that in order to entertain the religious life, having in mind the supreme goal, one must have enough foundation in oneself for the purpose. This foundation is acquired by effort collected from the past, accompanied by strong determination. There are a few cases of women who did not, in the beginning, enjoy the idea of leading a religious life, but when their ignorance was removed they were able to attain salvation because they already had a religious foundation acquired from their previous births. Examples can be seen in the cases of Khemā and Abhirupananda which will be discussed later on.

Another notorious bhikkhunī is Candakāli, who was known for her quarrelsome nature. She was a good representative of anger (tośa) and being Thullananda's friend, she got support from her. In Vibhanga, Sanghadisesa 4, a formal act was carried out against Candakāli and Thullananda restored her without the consent of the Sangha.[38] Candakāli is seen displaying her quarrelsome, argumentative

and hostile nature in many evidences: e.g., it has been mentioned in Sanghadisesa 7, where she repudiated even the tiratna, and threatened to leave the Order.[39] Again in Pācittiya 19,20 being angry at other nuns in a petty matter she swore that she wished those at fault to go to hell.[40] Once she applied for permission to ordain bhikkhunīs but was refused and as a result became very abusive.[41] She was also reported as frequenting the gathering of laymen.[42]

Candakāli, with her alienated nature, gained no popularity either among the Sangha or the laity. It seems that she never attained any spiritual advancement, but neither was there any record of her leaving the Order.

There were some other bhikkhunīs who caused displeasure among the Sangha but their names were not mentioned and no distinctive nature attributed to them. A group of six mischief-makers recorded as Chabbhaggiya bhikkhunīs were mentioned a few times in regard to the acts which need to be performed in a group.

The historical accounts of the events appear to be valuable though the name of the person in connection with an event may differ. In Bhikkhu Vibhanga, there is a story of Upananda bhikkhu who is described as "a maker of strife quarrelsome, maker of disputes, given to idle talk, a raiser of legal questions".[43] Comparatively he appears to be a mixture of Thullananda and Candakāli. The account given

in Vinaya[44] when he preached Dhamma at Jetavana and asked for the robe from the banker is identical with that of Thullananda's,[45] and like Thullananda he was popular among the lay-people.[46] He was also able in discussing exposition on Dhamma.

It is interesting to note that the sincerity of a woman at the point when she joined the Order can be taken as an important indication to determine for or against her as a bhikkhunī. If a woman had really experienced life and understood the nature that the worldly life does not lead one out of suffering, she turned to take refuge in the ti-ratna, aiming at the higher goal of life. She might not be able to attain Arahantship but she would always remain a good bhikkhunī, being sincere and earnest in her pursuit.

Kisā-Gotamī, who lost her only child and came to realize the extreme suffering in life, then turned to seek the higher goal,[47] and soon gained salvation. Patācārā is another often quoted example of a woman who had experienced the bitterness of losing loved ones. Her sad experience in life turned out to be a useful instrument for her to lead many other mothers who suffered the same to the path of liberation.[48]

Some of the Śākyan women who left the household along with Mahāpajāpati were strenous in their efforts and they were recorded to have achieved Arahantship.[49] Upasama

Therī also became an Arahant when the Buddha sent forth a ray of glory and "admonished" her.[50]

Bhadda Kapilāni was inclined towards the religious pursuit and always maintained it as the goal of her life. Both husband (Kassapa)[51] and wife left the world, Kassapa joined the Sangha while Bhadda Kapilāni joined the Ajivika sect[52] because the Bhikkhunī Sangha was not yet formed. Afterward she was ordained by Mahāpajāpati, and soon after attained Arahanthood. She became a very popular teacher, had many pupils under her instruction and was praised as being foremost in remembering past lives.[53]

Anojā also displayed her strong intention for salvation on leaving the household. When her husband, Mahā Kappina joined the Sangha, she thought, "the Buddha could not have arisen only for the benefit of men, but for that of women as well".[54] She joined the Order and was ordained by Uppalavannā Therī.

Uppalavannā herself was highly praised as a model for bhikkhunīs, having many pupils under her guidance. There were also cases when a woman was led to join the Bhikkhunī Sangha against her will. Abhirupananda was a good example, even after joining the Order, she avoided going in the presence of the Buddha but finally she also became an Arahant by meditating on the problem of impermanency.[55] In her case, she was potentially inclined towards the religious

life but this was obscured by her false attachment to her own beauty. Knowing her problem, the Buddha showed her the way to get rid of the obscurity of illusion. Khemā Therī, the former queen of king Bimbisara also suffered from the same kind of self-illusion and attachment. Overcoming it she renounced the world and became one of the most well known bhikkhunīs. She was ranked with Uppalavannā Therī for being a model of the Sisters.[56]

Some of the rules the Buddha laid down for the monks out of compassion for the bhikkhunīs. When he came to know that certain bhikkhus made the bhikkhunīs clean and dye rugs for them and by so doing deprived the latter of their time for putting more effort towards spiritual development, he set down the rule against it.[57] This directly protects the bhikkhunīs from being used by the bhikkhus. Again when the Chabbhaggiya bhikkhus sprinkled bhikkhunīs with mud and uncovered the private part of their bodies purposely to attract the bhikkhunīs, on learning this, the Buddha gave instruction ;

> Monks, that monk is to be made one who is not to be greeted by the Order of nuns. 58

Contrasting this rule against Gurudhamma 1 :

> A nun who has been ordained (even) for a century must greet respectfully, rise up from her seat, salute with joined palms, do proper homage to a monk ordained but that day. 59

The extention of Gurudhamma 1 can be arrived at, namely

a bhikkhunī is supposed to pay respect to bhikkhus providing they make themselves respectable. This is a classic example, showing that the Buddha was flexible in establishing the monastic rules. Rules should be obediently followed with the wisdom and understanding in regard to the meaning underlying each rule. If rules are carried out blindly without understanding, if they have no flexibility, they become an obstacle in one's own achievement socially as well as spiritually.

Another time the bhikkhus made a claim for the belongings of a bhikkhunī who had just passed away, so the Buddha made it a rule that the belongings of a deceased should go to the Bhikkhunī Sangha.[60] In Mahāvagga[61] if robes are being offered to both the Sangha, the number of robes must be divided into two equal portions, even though the bhikkhus may outnumber the bhikkhunīs. This points to the sense of equality that the Buddha maintained.

In Digha Nikāya Commentary, it has been recorded that a certain bhikkhu who was too lazy to go out on the morning round for alms, instead received from the share of Uttara bhikkhunī who was 120 years old. This continued for three days, Uttara bhikkhunī deprived of food collapsed on the fourth day.[62] After inquiring about this, the Buddha made it a point to be practised that a bhikkhu is not to receive alms from a bhikkhunī. This prevents the bhikkhu

from selfish acts and protects bhikkhunīs from being taken advantage of.

In Pali Vinaya, there are 227 Pātimokkha rules for bhikkhus, and 311 rules for bhikkhunīs. Apart from the three sections of the rules already discussed in the previous chapter, many of the extra rules are purely for the protection of the bhikkhunīs themselves. A bhikkhunī is not to take a bath in a lonely place,[63] so that she might be saved from evil-minded men. A bhikkhunī is not to live alone in the forest, she is not to travel in a dangerous place without protection, etc. Such rules are for their own protection which shows the genuine concern of the Buddha for the well-being of his female disciples.

Another important point brought out by Horner is that the critics, whose complaints of misbehaviour are shown to result in the formulation of rules for bhikkhunīs, are for the most part the "modest nuns", seventy-four times they are recorded to be vexed and annoyed. "People" are recorded to have made criticism thirty-two times.[64] This significant evidence shows that on the whole the Bhikkhunī Sangha was formed of the modest nuns as the majority, the "culprits" were indeed few in number.

It is an accepted fact that the Bhikkhunī Sangha was made submissive to and dependent on the Bhikkhu Sangha. Bhikkhunīs were deprived of certain rights which bhikkhus

enjoyed, but on the other hand by being limited in their power they were also limited in committing any serious damage to the tiratna as a whole. Protest raised by bhikkhunīs in the formal meeting was ineffectual,[65] so far as the available records are concerned, there was no evidence of any schism caused by bhikkhunīs. In fact the villanous roles played by or attributed to the bhikkhunīs were usually of a minor type in comparison to those committed by the bhikkhus. During the Buddha's life time, two schisms were recorded. The f rst one was led by Devadatta, the Buddha's own cousin, who suggested that the leadership of the Sangha should be handed over to him.[66] He caused division in the Sangha, and separated himself along with 500 newly ordained bhikkhus. This schism was mended when the two chief disciples, Moggallāna and Sārīputta, brought back those 500 bhikkhus by their discourse on Dhamma.[67] Devadatta went as far as to make a series of plans to take the Buddha's life. First someone let loose the mad elephant, Nālagirī.[68] When this failed he tried to role down blocks of stone on to the Buddha.

The second schism was reported to have taken place in Kosambi, among two groups of bhikkhus, the Vinayadharas (upholders of Vinaya) and Dhammakathikas (expounders of the scriptures). The quarrel went on furiously and neither of the parties could bring themselves to any kind of agreement

> Now at that time, monks causing quarrels, causing strife, falling into disputes in a refectory amidst the houses, behaved unsuitably towards one another in gesture, in speech; they came to blows. 69

The Buddha was requested to go to both parties to bring them to the rightful path, but was not successful. One of the bhikkhus even said to him ;

> Lord, let the Lord, the Dhamma-master wait ...we will be (held) accountable for this dispute. 70

Eliot pointed out that this seems a clear hint that the Blessed One had better mind his own business.[71] As a result the Buddha packed up his lodging, and before leaving Kosambi, he addressed the group of bhikkhus with much disappointment.

> They who (in thought) belabour this: That man
> has me abused, has hurt, has worsted me,
> has me despoiled : in these wrath's not alleyed.

and :

> Better the faring of one alone,
> there is no companionship with the foolish,
> fare alone, unconcerned, working no evil,
> as bull-elephant in elephant jungle. 72

He had given them a chance, trying to show them what was righteous but those bhikkhus were too clouded with kileśa. Even the Enlightened One could not help, thus he had to remain upekā.[73] On his way to Parileyya, the Guarded Woodland Thicket,[74] he visited two groups of his own disciples who received him well with respect. After giving them a

discourse on Dhamma he proceeded on to his destination alone. At Parileyya, he was waited upon and well taken care of by a bull-elephant, who apparently was also tired of living in quarrelsome company.

The Sangha was again reunited only when the lay-people of Kosambi stopped giving support to the bhikkhus, and thus forced the latter to come to their senses and go to the Buddha for forgiveness. But it is doubtful that they really realised their fault. The acceptance was not from self-realization but forced upon them from external sources. It was the physical need which forced them to accept their fault, because they lost material support and the laity of Kosambi refused to offer alms to them.

From the above evidences, it is seen that the bhikkhus had caused much more serious problems which endangered the unity and the well-being of the Sangha, and even after the intervention of the Buddha, they still stubbornly persisted. The division of the various Buddhistic schools in the later period arose from within the Bhikkhu Sangha. The first official schism was recorded in the reign of Kalasoka, a century after the Buddha's death. A group of bhikkhus in Vesali introduced a relaxing of rules on the ten points.[75] The Elder Revata held a Council of the Dhamma under royal patronage, in which he preserved the orthodox practice. The bhikkhus who introduced these relaxing rules

after being defeated, separated themselves and formed another party consisting of 10,000 members and came to be known as Mahāsanghika, as the Council formed among the newly separated group is recorded as Mahāsanghiti.[76] From this incident onward various schools of Buddhistic thought came into existence.

It is worth noticing that though bhikkhunīs were more likely to open up and yield themselves to small, petty matters, the troubles created from this were also small. But among the Bhikkhu Sangha, although not so many troubles were found as in the Bhikkhunī Sangha, they were much more serious in nature. This can be explained by understanding the biological and psychological aspects of each sex. The intensity of faith in women tends to be higher than men. Kali, mother of Sona-Kutikanna, on hearing only the excellence of the Buddha, attained the stage of the stream-winner (Sodapañña). She was considered the most senior among the women who became the stream-winners.[77]

In connection with this, a striking phenomenon in the history of the development and decline of the Bhikkhunī Sangha should be mentioned. Faith seems to play an important role in bringing salvation to women in Buddhism. During the Buddha's life time, the percentage of bhikkhunīs achieving Arahantship was remarkable. It has been recorded that the bhikkhunīs were generally striving earnestly for

the supreme goal in religious life. Some of them attained salvation when the Buddha sent his ray of glory to "admonish" them. But after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, the central figure of certainty was lost to the Bhikkhuni Sangha. Psychologically this loss must have effected the Bhikkhunī Sangha to a great extent, especially among the bhikkhunīs who had not yet attained the supreme goal. The Bhikkhunī Sangha declined gradually and soon after there was no record of their activity in the motherland at all. In short it appears that the Bhikkhunī Sangha prospered and was successful during the Buddha's life time because of the faith and certainty assured to them in the Buddha himself.

Salvation achieved by women carried a strong aspect of faith within it, faith in the Buddha himself as a person, and faith in his teaching. It does not mean that faith is supreme but it is the primary aspect leading to the final spiritual achievement. This may due to the fact that tradition and society in that period demanded a total dependence of women upon men. Thus, even having left the worldly life and joined the Order, the bhikkhunīs were still dependent upon the leader of the Sangha, namely the Buddha. This phenomenon should not be accepted as universally applicable, nevertheless it might be one of the causes which brought about the decline of the Bhikkhunī Sangha in the history of Buddhism.

Also, if taken from the social point of view, the well-being of the Bhikkhunī Sangha in early Buddhism highly depended on the presence of the Buddha . There were many instances recorded of how bhikkhunīs were used, taken advantage of and ill-treated by the bhikkhus, some of which have already been discussed earlier. During the Buddha's life time, the injustice and ill-treatments were set aright by him. He remained the centre of justice between the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Sangha. He was as a wall of protection for the existence of the Bhikkhunī Sangha. But after his death, the Bhikkhunī Sangha was directly exposed to any injustice that might occur. There was no one to set up new rules for their interest against the inevitable power which might be misused by the bhikkhus. There are no records available, after all the records were usually written down by bhikkhus themselves, but judgement can still be derived from the events which occured repeatedly during the Buddha's life time. Even in the presence of the Buddha many incidents occured,how many more would there be after his death. Thus the size of the Bhikkhunī Sangha diminished rapidly and there are hardly any bhikkhunīs left to modern time. Those who have survived up to the present day still have to fight further for their right against the objection in regard to their being authentic Buddhist bhikkhunīs.

CONCLUSION

The study of the Bhikkhunī Sangha presented in this dissertation has opened up many possibilities for further research and inquiry. The position of women in general has been brought out against the dim background prior to the rise of Buddhism. In fact women enjoyed the best kind of liberty and freedom in the Buddhistic period in comparison to their position in Indian history on the whole.

Bhikkhunīs were allowed to preach Dhamma and they had successfully shown their capabilities. A woman could strive for and achieve salvation by her own effort without having to be led by her husband. These were some of the successful advancements woman achieved in the Buddhistic period. Such striking liberal attitudes held by the Buddha opened the way for women in general. They were soon attracted towards his teaching, and the Buddha himself was the embodiment of it. That is, he did not only preach the Dhamma but also practised the principle he preached.

The problem regarding the Buddha's reluctance to accept women to the Order must be studied from the context

in which the utterances against this were made. Psychological and social impacts on the Buddha by women must be taken into consideration in order to understand his action correctly. In *Sutta Pitaka*, the introductions usually give a full account of where and when the Buddha spoke, what was the occasion which led him to utter that particular speech, and to whom he uttered it.[1] The idea of this introduction is mainly to provide the context of the speech, to enable one to understand it clearly.

The study of the *Pātimokkha*, one of the oldest Buddhist texts, is important as it enables one to trace much hidden information. Through the comparative study of the *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha* of various schools, Pachow came to the conclusion that Mahāsanghika has preserved the oldest form of *Pātimokkha*.[2] From the comparative study of the *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* in this dissertation, one cannot make any hasty conclusion as the comparative study does not include the minor rules. This opens up the possibility of a further investigation on the same line from which one might be able to make a more concrete assertion. From the present research, it has been pointed out that the *Pātimokkha* of various Buddhistic schools are substantially the same. They might have originated from the same common source, but from the study at the present stage no claim can be made as to which school has the most original form of the *Pātimokkha*.

From the study of the arrangement of rules in the Bhikkhunī Sanghadisesa, one can see that rules were not laid chronologically section by section. The major rules were laid down side by side with the minor ones according to the historical occurences, and the division of various definite sections is probably the later work.

The comparative study of the Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha shows that different schools though differing from each other in minor points, held the essential points substantially in common. This points out that as far as monastic rules are concerned the Sangha is a unity. It also shows that the Sangha followed generally same Patimokkha before the period of sectarian Buddhism. The differences between various schools of Buddhism lie mainly in the philosophical exposition and different ways of interpreting Dhamma but not in the Vinaya. The objections Theravādins hold against the authenticity of the bhikkhunis are shown to be objectively and academically unsound. Further study on this point may be of great value for the survival of the bhikkhunīs in Buddhism.

A new approach taken for the study of the Order is seen in the last chapter. In Therīgatha and Theragatha, one gets a picture of the eminent bhikkhunīs and bhikkhus; different psalms were written in praise of them. But so far no one has paid much attention to the trouble-makers.

In the fifth chapter, a study on the 'culprits' within the Bhikkhunī Sangha is briefly undertaken. Interesting points are drawn from this study; for instance, salvation can be achieved by keeping the balance of wisdom and practice. Studying the character of Thullananda bhikkhunī points out that one cannot achieve any spiritual advancement simply by learning alone. One learns Dhamma, and in order to achieve the supreme goal one must also practice it. Religious learning becomes empty and meaningless when it is not used in the practical level. Philosophical discussion on the supreme truth can be appreciated only when it can be applied in actuality. Thus the final words the Buddha uttered before his Mahaparinibbana proves to be applicable to men at all time; Dhamma and Vinaya must always be taken side by side.

To sum up, the bhikkhunīs in early Buddhism have been shown to be on equal terms with their masculine colleagues in regard to the spiritual achievement. A bhikkhunī obtained recognition as a rational being, and shared the intellectual communion of the religious aristocracy of the Ariyans.[3] She enjoyed freedom in religious participation and the recognition of her self-acquired salvation. Such freedom is rarely found in any other religious organizations.

NOTES

Introduction

[1] E.Conze, Short History of Buddhism (Bombay,1960), p.1

[2] ibid.

[3] Vinaya Texts,ed.M.Muller, SBE.Vols.XIII,XVII,XX (London,1881,1882,1885 respectively.)

[4] Book of the Discipline, ed.Horner, SBB.Vols.X, XI,XIII,XIV, and XX (London,1949,1957,1957,1962 and 1963 respectively)

[5] Psalms of the Early Buddhists, (London,1964)

[6] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, (London,1930)

[7] Op.cit.

[8] Horner, intro.to The Book of the Discipline,SBB. X, p.xl ff.

[9] ibid., p.xliii

[10] P.Sangchai, intro.to Thai Pitaka (Thailand,1957), Vol.I, p.ng

Chapter I

[1] C.A.F.Rhys Davids, preface to Women Under Primitive Buddhism by I.B.Horner (London,1930), p.xiv

[2] ibid., p.xv

[3] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.2

[4] Brid.Upanisad,III,5,1 says "A desire for son is

a desire for wealth, a desire for wealth is a desire for worlds." This belief is dominant in The Laws of Manu, IX, 137 "by a son a man conquers worlds, by a son's son he enjoys immortality; and afterwards by the son of a a grandson, he reaches the solar abode."

5
Rig.VIII,31,5; also X,27,7 in the former verse, the dampati (husband and wife) have been mentioned as performing all religious rites jointly.

6
Rig.V,28

7
Rig.X,39,40

8
M.Langlois, tr.Rig.VI,1,7

9
ibid.,4,11

10
ibid.,I,4,17 also Wilson, tr. Rig.I,128 verses 1-9

11
ibid.,VIII,8,17; also Wilson, tr.Rig.V,35

12
ibid.,IV,11

13
Atharvaveda,XI,5,19

14
A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (London, 1860) so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmanas. Also Brhadaranyakopanisad.

15
R.Diwakar, Bhagawan Buddha (India,1960), p.38

16
Mv.VIII,15,13

17
Regarding the performance of the rites and rituals by women, we find some Hindu literatures dead against it. At several places, their participation into sacrificial duties had been condemned and supposed to be the cause of the displeasure to gods. Women were strictly prohibited to offer an Agnihotra sacrifice (burnt oblation) and if they did so, their sinking in to hell was unavoidable. For details please see Georg Buhler, tr. The Laws of Manu (India, 1967),SBE.XXV,161

18
The most important function of a Hindu wife was that of bringing into the world, a son in order to perform the necessary rites to his father and to continue the race

"Hindu Women" Hastings, ed. ERE.VIII,p.449

[19] Few bhikkhunis mentioned in Therigatha, were formerly prostitutes, e.g., Ambapali, Padumavati, etc. C.A.F.Rhys Davids, The Psalms of the Early Buddhists (London,1964), pp.120,30 respectively.

Chapter II

[1] Spence Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism (India,1967), p.311; also Rhys Davids, intro. to The Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p.xxvi

[2] Samy.I,5 also Majjh.I,169

[3] Samy.III,2

[4] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.2

[5] Therigatha Verses,464,465,472 and 479; also Thig. Commentary, p.xix

[6] Keith, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,I,476

[7] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.75

[8] The Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p.87

[9] N.Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism (Calcutta,1960), p.105

[10] ibid.

[11] J.Barthelemy Saint Hilaire, Life and Legend of Buddha (Calcutta,1957),pp.26-27

[12] Warren, Buddhism in Translations (Harvard Univ., 1906), p.55

[13] A.Coomaraswamy, Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism (Bombay,1956),p.156

[14] E.J.Thomas, Life of the Buddha (London,1957),p.111

[15] Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism (London,1921), I,157

[16] Early Monastic Buddhism, p.87

[17] T.W.Rhys Davids, Buddhism (New York,1882), p.73

[18] quoted by T.W.Rhys Davids, in The History and Literature of Buddhism (5th ed.,Calcutta,1962), p.63

[19] Alexander Csoma de Koros, The Life and Teachings of Buddha (Calcutta,1957),p.65

[20] both from Udana, Mucilinda and Enlightenment respectively, trans. by D.M.Streng

[21] Ang.III, p.295

[22] For details see J.H.Thiessen, Die Legende Von Kisa-Gotami,(Breslan,1880), p.34

[23] Dhammapada Verses 222,233; Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p.110

[24] ibid.,pp.61-62

[25] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.312

Chapter III

[1] T.W.Rhys Davids, intro.to Vinaya Texts, SBB.XIII, p.xvii

[2] Cv.X,1,2; SBE.XVII

[3] This is one of the eight boons Ananda received from the Buddha as a privilege for being his personal attendent. See S.Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism (India,1967), p.234

[4] Cv.X,1,3; SBE.XVII

[5] ibid.

[6] Cv.X;SBB.XX,354

[7] ibid.,p.356

[8] The Buddha experienced this himself on his first day of ascetic life in Rajagrha. See Warren, Buddhism in Translations (Harvard Univ.,1906), pp.68-69

[9] The argument between the people of Koli and Kapilvatthu. See Manual of Buddhism, p.307

[10] ibid., p.283

[11] Okkākarāja (suppose to be the first king of Śakya clan) was pleased to learn that his sons married their own sisters in order to preserve the purity of the Śakyan. ibid. p.133

[12] Cv.X,9,5;SBE.XVII Not all the monks were competent to give exhortation, thus the rule: stupid, sick or bhikkhu who is on a journey should not exhort the bhikkhunis.

[13] This is the usual utterance before establishing the rules.

[14] Pācittiya 27, SBB.XVII,288 ff.

[15] Mv.I,5,4;SBE.XIII

[16] ibid., Mv.I,5,11

[17] A Manual of Buddhism, p.309

[18] ibid.

[19] ibid.

[20] Women Under Primitive Buddhism (London,1930),p.106

[21] Hermann Jacobi, trans.Jaina Sutras, SBE.XXII,274

[22] Jātaka 536 quoted by Horner in Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.108

[23] A.B.Keith, Philosophy of the Veda (Cambridge,1925), pp.514-515

[24] As already discussed in Chapter I.

[25] Women Under Primitive Buddhism, p.100

[26] B.C.Law, Women in Buddhist Literature, p.67 as quoted by Neera Desai, Woman in Modern India (India,1957), p.17

[27] P.Sangchai,trans. to Thai, Cv.IV; Thai Pitaka (S.Dhammapakdi, ed.,1957),VIII, pp.161-165

[28] R.A.Gard, Buddhism (New York,1962), p.207 ff., also E.Conze, ed.(oxford,1954), pp.46-50

[29] P.Sangchai, intro. to Thai Pitaka,I, p.ng

[30] One yojana is approximately 40 km. (according to the Thai measurement which is most likely derived from India)

[31] Mv.I,6,12-16; SBE.XIII

[32] Cv.V,21,2; SBE.XVII

[33] Mhp.V,36-40 Buddhist Suttas, Trans. by Rhys Davids, SBE.XI

[34] Cv.V,21,2; SBE.XX

[35] Please see chapter V

[36] SBB.XX,401

[37] ibid.

[38] Mhp.V,36-40; SBE.XI

[39] ibid., Mhp.V.34

[40] SBB.XIV,394

[41] op.cit.

[42] ibid.

[43] Samy.V,154 ff; Thag.V,1020; Thag.Com.II,129 as quoted in Dict.PP. I,260

[44] Ang.III,360 ff. quoted in Dict.PP.I,274

[45] Samy.II,217 ff. quoted in Dict.PP.I,258

[46] Samy.II,215

Chapter IV

[1] Early Monastic Buddhism, p.22

[2] "Buddha and Buddhism", ed.F.M.Muller and others in Studies in Buddhism (India,1953), p.7

[3] also known as Mahāvīra

[4] Mogallāna and Sāriputta, the eminent disciples of the Buddha were formerly his followers.

[5] Early Monastic Buddhism, pp.28-33, Cf. Basak, Lectures On Buddha and Buddhism (India,1961), pp.3-4

[6] H.Nakamura, "Unity and Diversity in Buddhism", ed.Morgan in The Path of Buddha (New York,1956), p.370

[7] eight requirements; three robes (tri-civara), bowl, needle, water-strainer, girdle, and razor.

[8] Water strainer was prescribed so that the bhikkhu might not drink water with living things in it. Now it is not necessary any more, yet still being used.

[9] e.g., Pachow, A Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa (Santiniketan, 1955), A.C.Banerjee, Sarvastivada Literature (Calculta,1957)

[10] Op.cit., p.87

[11] Mhp.; SBE.XI,112

[12] A Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa, p.13 ff., Cf.Phra Sāsana Sobhana, intro. to Patimokkha (Thailand, 1966),p.xxi-xxii; Horner also agrees with Rhys Davids and Oldenburg, SBB.X,viii

[13] Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism (London, 1921), I,237

[14] also Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism (New York,1968), p.9

[15] SBE.XX. pp.24-25

[16] On one occasion, I had personal discussion with one of the leading Camelite nuns who expressed this idea.

[17] M.Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature (Calcutta,1933).II,26

[18] Op.cit., pp.61; Cf. M.Muller,"Buddhist Pilgrims", ed. M.Muller and others in Studies in Buddhism, p.17

19 R.R.Diwakar, Bhagawan Buddha (India,1960), p.52, also Pachow, A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa, p.61 in which he has shown elaborately of how the Buddhistic rules are similar to Brahmanic tradition.

20 see also Bigandet, Life and Legend of the Buddha (London, 1914), p.297

21 Eliot also supports this view, op.cit., p.241

22 The Questions of King Milinda, trans. by Rhys Davids (Dover Pub., New York, 1963), part II,Bk.IV, Dilemma 68, p.109

23 intro. to Pātimokkha, p.x; see also Hinduism and Buddhism, I,154

24 intro. by Rhys Davids, to SBE.XIII,p.xii

25 Parājika 1 in the Bhikkhunī Vibhanga, SBB.XIII,156

26 Pācittiya 1, SBB.XIII,241

27 Parājika 6, SBB.XIII,165 f.

28 SBB.XIII,179

29 A History of Indian Literature, II,27

30 intro. by Horner, to SBB.X, p.xiv

31 The original eexts are availabe only in Pali of Theravada and Sanskrit of Mula-Sarvastivada.

32 Parājika, Sanghadisesa, Nissaggiya Pācittiya, Pācittiya, Patidesaniya, Sekhiya and Adhikārana Samatha.

33 Majjh.108, quoted by S.C.Banerji, An Introduction to Pali Literature, p.26

34 SBB.XIII, 189

35 Chinese Pitaka, Taisho ed., No.1455, XXIV, 508 ff.

36 Visuddhimagga, 16

37 SBE.XIII, p.xxviii

38 H.Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism (India,1968), p.74, n.5

[39] E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London, 1959), p.15, n.1

[40] Cf. *Vin.*III,249

[41] S.Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India* (London,1962), p.74

[42] *SBB*.X, p.xiv

[43] *ibid.*

[44] *Cv*.XI,1.9; *SBE*.XVII

[45] *Pātimokkha*, p.xxi

[46] *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa*, p.13; also *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p.75

[47] Skt.*Upavasatha*, the religious meeting on *Upavasatha* day has been the practice of pre-Buddhist time. The Buddhists also adopted this custom of periodical meeting but confined to meeting twice a month. Usually falls on the 14th or 15th of the full moon and new moon. *Mv*.II,4,2

[48] J.Kashyap, "Origin and Expansion of Buddhism", ed. Morgan in *The Path of Buddha* (New York, 1956), p.35

[49] *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p.75

[50] *Cv*.IX,1,1; *SBE*.XVII

[51] *The Questions of King Milinda*, part I, Bk.IV, p. 264 ff.

[52] *SBE*.XIII,*Cv*.X,6,1

[53] *SBB*.XIII, 156 ff.

[54] *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.16, n.2

[55] P.C.Bagchi, "Pali and Buddhism" in *All India Oriental Conference 13th Session* (India, 1946), pp.39-40

[56] quoted in *SBB*.X, p.xxvi

[57] *ibid.*

[58] *SBE*.XIII, p.i, n.3

59 *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.16, n.1

60 *SBB*.X, p.xxvii

61 *ibid*.,p.xx

62 *ibid*., p.1 ff

63 Reference for the texts of all the schools are as follow;

Theravāda : *SBB*.XIII, pp.156-244

Dharmagupta : Thai translation of the *Dharmagupta Bhikkhunī Vinaya* from Chinese by Bhikkhu Yen-kiat,author of *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (rev.ed., Bangkok,1961)

Mahāsanghika and Mahisāsaka : *Chinese Tripitaka*, Taisho Shinshu Daizokya, (Taiwan rep.,1960), ed.Dr. J.Takakusu, Vol.XXII, No.1427, Chapts.36-40

Sārvastivāda : *Chinese Tripitaka*, *Sārvastivāda Bhiksunī Prātimokśa Sutra*, Taisho ed., Vol.XXIII, No.1437, p.479 ff.

Mula-Sārvastivāda : *Chinese Tripitaka*, *Mula-Sārvastivāda Bhiksunī Prātimokśa Sutra*, Taisho ed., Vol. XXIV, No.1455, p.508 ff.

64 Skt.*manatva* and *manapya*, Buddhaghośa explains it as the paying of some kind of respect to the other monks. This make it probable that theculprit remained in a special state of subordination. *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.18, n.1; Cf. N.Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (India,1939), Vol. III, part,3, p.iv

65 *SBB*.X,196

66 *ibid*., p.xxxi

67 S.Tachibana, *The Ethics of Buddhism* (London,1926), p.82

68 *Parivāsa*, the state of uncleanliness. A monk who transgresses a Prātimokśa rule, specially a *Samghavasesa*, is regarded as unclean. The period he conceals the transgression is prescribed as the period of his *parivāsa*. During which he is debarred from enjoying certain privileges of the monk as a member of the Sangha. *Gilgit MSS*.III,pt.3, p.iv

69 Bagchi, *op.cit*.,p.39

[70] Pātimokkha, p.22 ff.

[71] Op.cit.

[72] namely Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha

[73] SBB.XIII,179

[74] Chinese Tripitaka,XXIV,508 ff.

[75] Op.cit.,II,vii

[76] The History of Buddhist Thought, p.18

[77] SBB.XI,xii

[78] Op.cit., p.19

[79] 1 kimsa = 4 kahāpanas, SBB.XIII,239, n.3

[80] translated from Chinese into Thai by Bhikkhu Yen-kiat, please see n.63 in the above.

[81] Chinese Tripitaka,XXIII,479 ff., No.1437

[82] SBB.XIII,223

[83] Op.cit.

[84] A Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa, p.45

[85] Op.cit.

[86] Bought over at a very high price for the Sangha from Prince Jeta, thus sometimes also known as Jetavana or Jeta Grove.

[87] Bhikkhu Sanghadisesa, Vinaya Texts, SBB.XIII,7 see also Bhikkhuni Sanghadisesa, SBB.XIII,179

[88] SBB.XIII,xxxv

[89] Manual of Indian Buddhism, p.74; The History of Buddhist Thought, p.xvi

[90] "The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature", Serie Orientale Roma,VIII, IsMEO,1956, pp.2-4

[91] Around 4th Century B.C. please see Early Monastic Buddhism

[92] N.Dutt,"Survey of Important Books in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit" in _2,500 Years of Buddhism_, ed.Bapat (India,1956), p.170

[93] _Manual of Indian Buddhism_, p.74

[94] _Pātimokkha_, p.81

[95] Quoted from the passage translated from _Lives of Bhiksunis_, by Takakusu, in _Buddhist Texts Through The Ages_, ed.Conze, p.293

[96] _Op.cit._

Chapter V

[1] C.A.F.Rhys Davids, trans.,_Psalms of the Early Buddhists_, (PTS.,London,1964)

[2] _ibid._, p.87

[3] _ibid._, p.16

[4] _ibid._,pp.40,50; Sukka and Vaddhesi respectively

[5] _ibid._, p.68

[6] _ibid._, p.77

[7] _ibid._, p.47

[8] _ibid._, p.63

[9] _ibid._, p.60

[10] _ibid._

[11] _ibid._, pp.81,111

[12] _ibid._, p.106

[13] _SBB_.XIII,160

[14] _SBB_.XX,358

[15] _ibid._, Cf._Gurudhamma_ in _SBB_.XIII,158

16 *Vin*.I,82; *Vin.Texts*,I,210 as quoted by E.J.Thomas, in *The Life of Buddha* (London,1960), p.102

17 *Sanghadisesa* 3, *SBB*.XIII,188

18 *SBB*.X,330 ff.

19 *ibid*.,p.333

20 please note her statement, "Although, honour sir, the master has no desire for that thing, unbelieving people are difficult to convince". *ibid.*, p.331

21 *The Life of Buddha*, p.105

22 *Op.cit*., intro.by Horner, p.xxxiii

23 *ibid*., *Cv*.X,20

24 *Jataka*,I,148 as quoted by Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (London,1960), I,632

25 *SBB*.XIII,182

26 *ibid*., pp.215-241

27 *Pācittiya* 11,23,26-30,33-35 in *SBB*.XIII

28 *Nissaggiya* 9, *SBB*.XIII,238

29 *Pācittiya* 35, *SBB*.XIII,311

30 *ibid*.

31 please see *Pācittiya* 25,26,27, *SBB*.XIII,pp.294-97

32 *Pācittiya* 30, *SBB*.XIII,300

33 *Nissaggiya* 28, *SBB*.XIII,236

34 *SBE*.XI,112

35 *Vin*.IV,211,259 quoted in *Dict.PP*.,II,23

36 *SBB*.XIII,160

37 *ibid*.,p.165

38 *ibid.*, p.191

39 *Op.cit.*, p.201

40 *Pācittiya* 19,20, *ibid.*, pp.279-282

41 *Vin.*IV,331 as quoted in *Dict.PP.*,I,837

42 *Vin.*IV,293,309, *ibid.*,I,837

43 *Vin.*168, *ibid.*,p.394

44 *ibid.*

45 *Nissaggiya* 29, *SBB.*XIII,239

46 *Op.cit.*

47 *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, p.106

48 *ibid.*, p.68

49 for example, Uttara Therī, *ibid.*, pp.175-181 also *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 161-2 quoted in *Dict.PP.*I,360

50 *Dict.PP.*I,401

51 Mahā Kassapa or Skt. Mahā Kaśyapa

52 *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p.103

53 *Psalms of The Early Buddhists*, p.47

54 *Ang.Commentary*,I,176 as quoted in *Dict.PP.*I,96

55 *Thig.Commentary*,81, quoted in *Dict.PP.*I,143

56 *Psalms of The Early Buddhists*, p.81

57 *Nissaggiya* 17, *SBB.*XI,94

58 *SBB.*XX,363

59 *ibid.*,p.354

60 *SBE.*XVII, *Cv*,X,11,1

61 *Mv.*VIII,32, *SBE.*XIII

62 Dig.Commentary,III,110-111 quoted in Dict.PP.I,364

63 Cv.X,27 SBE.XVII

64 Rhys Davids,intro. to SBB.XIII,xl

65 Mv.IX,4,7 SBE.XIII

66 Cv.VII,3,1 SBE.XVII

67 ibid., 4,4

68 Op.cit.

69 SBB.XIV,488

70 Mv.X,2,2 SBE.XIII, also SBB.XIV,489

71 Hinduism and Buddhism,I,156

72 SBB.XIV,500

73 Skt.upeksa, literally means "to over look", that is to be impartial, or unconcern, see E.Conze, Buddhist Thought In India (London,1962),p.89

74 Venerable Bhagu in Balakalonakara Village, and Venerable Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila in the Eastern Bamboo Grove, SBB.XIV,502

75 The Life of Buddha, p.169

76 from their record the schism did not lie only on Vinaya disagreement but also theological problem. They raised five Propositions in challenge of the authenticity of the elders. See Lamotte, "Controversy over the Five Propositions", ed.by N.N.Law in Gautama Buddha 25th Centenary (India,1956); also G.F.Allen, "The Origin of the Mahasanghikas", ed. by Rev.Jinaratna in The Maha Bodhi (India,1956), Vol.64, No.5, pp.225-232

77 Dict.PP.I,587

Conclusion

1 Rhys Davids, intro. to SBE.XIII,xvii

[2] The Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa, p.41; Cf.M.Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature,(India, 1933),II,19

[3] A.K.Coomaraswamy, Buddha and The Gospel of Buddhism (Bombay,1956), p.159 .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The Vinaya Texts, translation of the first two volumes of the Vinaya Pitaka; Mahāvagga and Cullavagga, by H. Oldenburg and T.W.Rhys Davids. Edited by M.Muller, SBE,XIII,XVII and XX. India: Motilal Barnasidass,1965.

Books Of The Discipline, I.B.Horner, trans.& ed. 5 volumes. SBB.X,XI,XIII,XIV,XX. London: Luzac & Co.,Ltd.,1949, 1957,1957,1962,1963.

Taisho Shinshu Daizkyo (大正新修大蔵経), J.Takakusu, ed. Taisho edition of the Chinese version of Tripitaka or Buddhist Sacred Canon. 85 volumes, Vols.XXII,XXIII, and XXIV. Tokyo, 1922-23.

Thai Tipitaka (พระไตรปิฎก), P.Sangchai, trans. (100 Vols) Vols.8,34,64,83. Thailand: S.Dhammapakdi, 1957.

The Pātimokkha, Ñanamoli Thera. Thailand: The Social Science Association Press of Thailand,1966.

So-sor-thar-pa (Tibetan version of Pātimokkha),S.C.Vidhya-bhusana, trans. India: Asiatic Society,1915.

Kindred Sayings I, translation of Samyutta Nikaya, by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. London: Luzac & Co.,Ltd.,1950.

Buddhist Suttas, T.W.Rhys Davids, trans. Edited by M.Muller, SBE.X. India: Motilal Barnasidass, 1965.

Psalms of the Early Buddhists, T.W.Rhys Davids, trans. London: Luzac & Co.,Ltd.,1964.

The Questions of King Milinda, T.W.Rhys Davids, trans. II parts. New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1963.

Buddhist Birth Stories, T.W.Rhys Davids, trans. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1925.

Buddha-Cārita, K.M.Yoglekar, trans. India: The Oriental Publishing Co., 1912.

Dhammapāda, translated from Chinese by Samual Beal. India: Calcutta, 1952.

The Minor Readings & Illustrator, translated from *Khuddakapātha* by Bhikkhu Nanamoli. London: Luzac & Co.,Ltd., 1960.

Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King (*A Life of Buddha*), translated from Chinese by S.Beal. Edited by M.Muller, *SBE*.XIX. India: Motilal Barnasidass,1968.

Gilgit Manuscripts, edited by N.Dutt.(4 volumes) India: Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., 1939-1959.

Jaina Sutras, Hermann Jacobi, trans. Edited by M.Muller, *SBE*.XXII. India: Motilal Barnasidass, 1965.

The Sacred Laws of the Aryan, part I, Georg Buhler, trans. Edited by M.Muller, *SBE*.II. India: Motilal Barnasidass, 1965.

Secondary Sources

Allen,G.F. "The Origin of the Mahasanghikas", *The Maha Bodhi*, Vol.64,no.5. India: Maha Bodhi, May, 1964.

Altekar,A.S. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*. India: Motilal Barnasidass, 1962.

Bagchi,P.C. "Pali and Buddhism", *All India Oriental Conference: 13th Session*. India: Nagpur University, 1946.

__________ "Twelve Years of the Wandering Life of Buddha", *A Collection On Oriental Studies*. India:Santiniketan, 1955.

Banerjee,Anukul Chandra. *Sārvastivāda Literature*. India: D.Banerjee,1957.

Banerji,D.K. "Some Aspects of Social Life of Ancient India in the 6th Century B.C. as Depicted in the Brahmajala Sutta", *The Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra* Vol.II.n.d.

Basak,Radhagovinda. *Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism*. India: Sambodhi Publications Private Ltd.,1961.

Basham,A.L. *The Wonder That Was India*. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959.

Beal,S.trans.ed. Buddhist Records of the Western World. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968.

____ A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese. London: Trubner & Co.,1871.

Bigandet,R.P. The Life or Legend of Gaudama. London:Kegan Paul,Trench,Trubner & Co.Ltd., 1914.

Brewster,E.H. The Life of Gotama the Buddha. London: Routledge & Kegna Paul Ltd.,1956.

Chang,K. A Comparative Study of the Kathinavastu. The Netherlands: Mouton & Co.,1957.

Ch'en,K.S. Buddhism. New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc.,1968.

Conze,Edward. Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies. Columbia: Univ.of South Carolina Press,1968.

____ A Short History of Buddhism. India: Chetana Ltd,1960.

____ Buddhism:Its essence and development. Oxford:Bruno Cassirer,1957.

____ ed.Buddhist Texts Through The Ages. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer,1954.

____ trans.Buddhist Scriptures. Great Britain: Hazell & Viney Ltd., 1960.

____ Buddhist Thought In India. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962.

Coomaraswamy,A.K. Hinduism and Buddhism. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952.

____ Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. India: Asia Publishing House,1956.

Copleston, Reginald Stephen. Buddhism: Primitive and Present in Magadha and in Ceylon. London: Longsmans, Green,& Co.,1892.

Desai,Neera. Woman in Modern India. India: Vora & Co., Publishers Private Ltd.,1957.

Diwakar,R.R. Bhagawan Buddha. India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,1960.

Dutt, Nalinaksha. "Survey of Important Books in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit", in P.V.Bapat, ed., 2,500 Years of Buddhism. India: Govt. of India, 1956.

____ Early Monastic Buddhism. India: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1960.

Dutt, Sukumar. Buddhism in East Asia. India: I.C.C.R., 1966.

____ Early Buddhist Monachism. India: Asia Publishing House, 1960.

____ The Buddha and 5 After Centuries. London: Luzac & Co, 1957.

____ Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962.

Edgerton, Franklin. "The Buddha and Language", in N.N.Law, ed., Gautama Buddha 25th Centenary. India, 1956.

Eliot, Sir Charles. Hinduism and Buddhism. I (3volumes) London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1921.

Foucher, A. The Life of the Buddha. Connecticut: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1963.

Gard, Richard, A. ed. Buddhism. N.Y.: George Braziller, 1962.

Gour, Shri Hari Singh. The Spirit of Buddhism. India: Lal Chand & Sons, 1929.

Hardy, R. Spence. A Manual of Buddhism. India: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967.

Herold, A. Ferdinand. The Life of Buddha. (Translated by Paul C. Blum from French) London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1929.

Horner, I.B. Women Under Primitive Buddhism. London: Routledge, 1930.

I-Tsing. A Record of Buddhist Religion as practised in India. (Translated by J. Takakusu). India, 1966.

Joshi, Lalmani. Studies In the Buddhist Culture of India. India: Motilal Barnasidass, 1967.

Kelen, Betty. Gautama Buddha. N.Y.: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Inc., 1967.

Keith, A.B. Philosophy of the Veda. Cambridge, 1925.

Kern, H. Manual of Indian Buddhism. India: Indological Book House, 1968.

Koros, Alexander Csoma. The Life and Teachings of Buddha. India: Susil Gupta Private Ltd., 1957.

Lamotte, E. "Buddhist Controversy over the 5 Propositions", in N.N.Law, ed., Gautama Buddha 25th Centenary. India: 1956.

_____ Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958.

_____ The Spirit of Ancient Buddhism. Roma: Istituto Per La Collaborazione Culturale, 1961.

Majumdar, R.C. The Age of Imperial Unity, Vols. I & II. (2 Vols) India: Bharat Vidya Bhavan, 1960.

Malalasekara, G.P. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. Ceylon: Govt. of Ceylon, 1961.

_____ Dictionary of Pali Proper Names. 2 volumes. London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1960.

Mookerjee, Satkari. ed. The Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra Research Publication. Vol. II. Varanasi, 1960.

Morgan, K.W. ed. The Path of the Buddha. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956.

Muller, F. Max. & others. Studies in Buddhism. India: Susil Gupta Ltd., 1953.

Nyanatiloka. Buddhist Dictionary. Columbo: Frewin & Co., Ltd., 1956.

Oldenburg, Hermann. Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order. (Translated by William Hoey.) Edinburgh: William and Norgate, 1882.

Pachow, W. A Comparative Study of the Prātimokśa. Santiniketan: The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955.

Prabhu, P.H. Hindu Social Organization. India: Popular Prakashan, 1963.

Przyluski, Jean. Le Concile De Rajagrha. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1926-28.

Rhys Davids, T.W. The History and Literature of Buddhism. 5th ed. India: Susil Gupta Private Ltd., 1962.

____ Buddhism. N.Y.: E & J.B. Young, 1882.

____ Early Buddhism. London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd, 19 8

Sangharakshita, Bhikshu. The Three Jewels. London: Rider & Company, 1967.

Sastri, Nilakantha, K.A. Gleanings On Social Life From the Avadānas. India: The Indian Research Institute, 1945.

Saint-Hilaire, J. Barthelemy. Life & Legend of Buddha. Susil Gupta Ltd., 1957.

Singh, Madan Mohan. "Life in the Buddhist Monastery during the 6th Century B.C." in Charles J. Adams, ed., Bihar Research Society Journal. Vol. 40. India, 1954.

Tachibana, S. The Ethics of Buddhism. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1926.

Thomas, E.J. The History of Buddhist Thought. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959.

____ ed. & trans. Early Buddhist Scriptures. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1935.

____ The Life of Buddha as Legend and History. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

Thomas, P. Indian Women Through the Ages. India: Asia Publishing House, 1964.

Warren, Henry Clarke. Buddhism in Translations. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. III. London: Harvard Univ. 1906.

Weber, A. & others. The History of Indian Literature. Chow-Khamba Sanskrit Series, Vol. 8. India, 1961.

White, E.M. Woman in World History. London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 1926.

Winternitz, Maurice. A History of Indian Literature. Vol. II (2volumes). India: Univ. of Calcutta, 1933.

U Nu. "The Buddha", Kamala Lecture. India: Univ. of Calcutta, 1961.